

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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Viraj Mendis appeal rejected

On Thursday 17 July, as the VMDC Manchester to London march was on its way to Northampton, news came through from Viraj's lawyer that the courts had rejected his last appeal to escape deportation to certain persecution by Jayewardene's fascist regime in Sri Lanka.

The Appeal adjudicators statement of their findings claimed that Viraj had not proved that he would be in danger of persecution. Their evidence for this is a letter solicited by the Home Office from the Sri Lankan High Commission stating that Viraj would not be persecuted if he was repatriated. The judgement noted that Viraj had lived in this country for 13 years and was highly respected by the community in Manchester. But this counted for nothing in their eyes. They weighed against this 'consideration' his alleged 'conduct' over the time he had been here. What can they mean by this? He has not been able to find work because he is black and had no work permit. He is a communist who has actively campaigned for democratic rights, against racism, and for the rights of Irish people, against the regime in Sri Lanka. He also supported the British miners strike and other working class struggles in Britain. In the eyes of British immigration courts, it seems black communists have no right to live and fight in Britain.

Now more than ever it is clear that

only popular pressure and widespread publicity from all supporters of Viraj's right to stay can force the Home Office to change its mind. The marchers arrive in London even more determined to fight for Viraj's right to stay. *The time to act is now* - we may only have two weeks until the Home Office tries to execute the deportation order.

While Bob Litherland, Viraj's MP, is preparing to make representation to Waddington the Home Office Minister, the London VMDC Support Group is building for a series of major events in the boroughs which the march is passing through. Meetings and rallies in Southall, Brent, Islington, Leyton, Hackney, Peckham and central London will be urged to join a massive picket of the Home Office on the second last day of the march - Friday 25 July. On Saturday 26 July, the march ends with a demonstration from Upper Street, Islington to a rally in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn which will discuss the next stage in the fight for Viraj's right to stay.

Ireland Loyalists on rampage

In the 12 July period the nationalist community in the Six Counties came under severe attack as loyalists celebrated their 'ascendancy' in the sectarian statelet. During the loyalist rampage three Catholics were shot dead, there were numerous beatings and dozens of homes were wrecked. The RUC and the British Government's unwillingness to prevent the Loyalist attacks has further undermined the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Even Twenty Six Counties Foreign Minister Peter Barry was forced to voice 'deep resentment' at events in the Six Counties. Once again, reality has shown that the Agreement cannot even deliver a lessening of the most glaring examples of sectarianism against the nationalist population.

Loyalists responded with triumph when the British government and the RUC backed down from an open clash with them at Portadown and allowed the sectarian Orange 12 July parade to march through the nationalist area. For a week before the march Ian Paisley and his followers had threatened violent conflict if their march was re-routed or

banned. These threats culminated on 11 July when 4000 loyalists (Paisley amongst them) participated in an overtly paramilitary demonstration at Hillsborough. Watched by British soldiers and the RUC they drilled, set up roadblocks and paraded wearing uniforms and carrying cudgels.

Obviously these threats did not fall on

deaf ears. Anglo Irish Agreement or not, the British government clearly decided that it could not risk a major clash between the loyalists and the RUC. The RUC's reliability in such a situation is, as the government knows, doubtful. As usual it was the nationalist community which paid the price. In the week before the march Catholic homes in Portadown were attacked and petrol bombed and these attacks continued right through to Monday when loyalist mobs tried to smash down a 15 foot high corrugated iron fence which was put up to keep them out of a nationalist area. Throughout the Six Counties sectarian attacks escalated. Three Catholic men were shot dead: on 10 July Brian Leonard was shot twice in the head whilst working at a building site-off the Shankhill Road. His murderers, the

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Apartheid reign of terror

Botha's fascist regime has set out to destroy the revolutionary people's organisations once and for all. The apartheid regime can only survive by force and terror. Since the imposition of a national State of Emergency on 12 June 1986 at least 5,000 people have been detained. Draconian censorship measures make it impossible to uncover the true scale of the detentions and killings. What cannot be concealed, however, is what lies behind this unprecedented level of brutal repression. The main targets have been the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) and the Comrades in the street and area committees. Activists of these organisations and their affiliates have been rounded up all over the country. Progressive church, women's, students and other militant anti-apartheid organisations such as the End Conscription Campaign and Black Sash have also been hard hit.

Homes and offices of activists have been raided and fire-bombed by security forces. Church services have been violently broken up and congregations tear-gassed. In Graaf Reinet, in the Northern Cape, the entire congregation of 600 people were detained. A vast number of those detained are school children, yet for the most part their identities remain unknown as it is illegal under emergency regulations to publish the names of detainees. Parents do not know whether their missing children are dead or alive - in hiding or in detention. For the first month of the Emergency detainees had no rights of access to their relatives or solicitors, and could be held incommunicado for months. News has come out of South Africa that thirty two activists in detention in Modderbee Prison outside Johannesburg have been on hunger strike since 7 July in protest at the appalling conditions in which they are being held.

Under the State of Emergency the police and army can murder, maim and torture, safe in the knowledge that they, and those acting 'with their approval' (eg right wing vigilantes) have been



granted immunity from any criminal or civil proceedings. They can:

- arrest and detain without a warrant anyone deemed to be a threat to 'public order' for 14 days (shortly to be extended to 180 days). This period can be extended without any hearing,
- seize and search without a warrant,
- impose strict curfews on any townships or areas they choose.

It is illegal to criticise or report on any police/army actions. Yet in spite of the news blackout, church and other sources have managed to send out information indicating the nature and extent of the atrocities committed by Botha's butchers.

On 18 June 1986, security forces raided an advice centre in the black township of Zwijve near Port Elizabeth. On their way out their armoured vehicles were stoned by some 50 young children who had gathered outside. Without hesitation they opened fire, murdering at least 8 children and injuring another 35.

Many children and babies have also been among the casualties of police tear-gas attacks on black townships. Yet the full horrors of the State of Emergency go unreported due to press censorship:

- It is illegal to draw pictures, photograph, film, or record any 'public disturbance, riot, strike or boycott' without official permission.



CENTRE PULL OUT

The crisis over sanctions page 7

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Any newspapers and other publications considered to contain 'subversive' statements are heavily censored or banned. For example, any reference to 'the white minority regime' or 'draconian measures' are blanked out.

Journalists are barred from entering black residential areas or any areas of 'unrest' for the purposes of reporting.

Four foreign journalists have been deported from the country for infringing these restrictions. Yet, with these few exceptions, the imperialist press has shown great willingness to toe the line. The stinking hypocrisy of the British media was highlighted by the lengthy TV coverage given to the rally organised in Soweto by apartheid's loyal servant, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi on 29 June 1986. Whereas all outside meetings and rallies are banned throughout the country and all indoor meetings in Soweto, this lackey was allowed to bring his supporters in buses to Soweto and tell the world that sanctions would harm black people in South Africa. A coach carrying Buthelezi supporters was petrol bombed on the way out of Soweto. No member of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement or its trade union federation, the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA), have been detained or brutalised.

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Kinnock leads attack on Scargill

This year's NUM conference at Tenby in Wales was the scene of an orchestrated attack on NUM president Arthur Scargill led by McGahey and Bolton (both CPGB members). The conference voted to allow individual members of the UDM to rejoin the NUM and also to ask the TUC and Labour Party to mediate between the NUM and UDM in an attempt to win back the scabs. It is clear that unity with the UDM can only be based on the scabs' terms – and yet this is the unity that McGahey and Co are seeking. Further, they know that such a move would make Scargill's position completely untenable.

At the conference, comments a Doncaster miner, 'even the Yorkshire Area, which has a unanimous policy of opposing such a disastrous idea (joining up with the UDM), instead of getting up to the platform to defend Arthur's position and the policy of their own area, followed Taylor's and Thompson's lead and sat on their hands, letting Arthur take a verbal battering from all corners. The rank and file, sitting at home watching the press coverage of these attacks, fumed from one end of Britain to the other. The attacks on Scargill are attacks upon every class conscious and militant member of the NUM'.

There is no doubt either, about Kinnock's involvement in all this. One of the arguments used by George Bolton in proposing the motion at the conference was that unity with the UDM 'would give the Labour Party a considerable fillip in the lead-up to the election'. Two weeks later, Kinnock made a major attack on Scargill at the Durham miners' gala. Without naming him, Kinnock unmistakably accused Scargill of 'prolonging disunity' within the mining industry. Kinnock's attack was preceded by a 6am meeting with McGahey and others opposed to Scargill.

Kinnock's manoeuvres against Scargill are part and parcel of the build-up to the election. Scargill's defeat and the victory of the 'new realism' is an important component in the election of a right-wing Labour government led by Kinnock and based on the votes of skilled workers and the middle classes.

Hence we find the 'new realism' clearly enshrined in a new TUC/Labour Party Liaison Committee document *People at Work: New Rights, New Responsibilities*. The document has already been passed by the Labour Party National Executive Committee, with opposition from Benn and Skinner. While the document claims to increase protection for job security, part-time and temporary workers, and argues for a minimum wage, it is the commitment to secret ballots before strike action and for election of union officials which is the key issue for Kinnock. He knows, just like

Thatcher, that the pre-strike secret ballot is an essential weapon for curbing union militancy. Hence, in the proposed new legislation, unions failing to hold pre-strike or other ballots could lose their certificate of independence and therefore their tax relief. Individual union members would be able to appeal to a newly created Industrial Democracy Commission if they thought their union was breaking a new TUC code and model rule book – a new scab's charter. All this is very similar to the 1971 Industrial Relations Act which at that time provoked massive opposition from trade union leaders.

But now, as more and more trade union leaders embrace the 'new realism' in order to hasten Labour on its path to power, it is clear that there will be barely a whisper of opposition, except from Scargill. He devoted his presidential address at the NUM conference to a scathing attack on such developments.

Kinnock and the 'new realists' of the Labour Party, the CPGB and the TUC will not feel safe until Scargill is totally defeated and isolated. But this they will find almost impossible to achieve. Despite the setbacks of the recent period, Scargill's leadership during the miners' strike means that he still commands enormous support amongst rank and file miners and their communities.

Olivia Adamson

Attacks on the NUM by the NCB and the ruling class have gone hand in hand with the attacks on Scargill from within the trade union movement and the Labour Party. On 20 June, the High Court, in response to a challenge from the NUM, gave its approval in law to the NCB's granting to the UDM of equal status in conciliation negotiations. The NUM were then ordered to pay the legal costs of the UDM and the NCB. The NCB, while granting the UDM a £5.50 per week pay rise in areas where they are in a majority, has suggested insultingly that the NUM should get 1%. Meanwhile, the NUM has been granted its funds back by the Appeal Court under the control of the new trustees. Former trustees Scargill, Heathfield and McGahey face a 50 day court appearance next March because of their attempts during the strike to protect NUM funds by moving them out of the country.



POPPER/FO

POPPER/FO

Wapping strikers face rotten alliance

As we go to press the News International High Court case aimed at banning mass pickets and demonstrations at Murdoch's Wapping and Kinning Park plants, continues. The High Court case is an attempt by Murdoch to remove the last remaining obstacle to imposing a dirty deal to end the dispute.

Despite the overwhelming votes to continue the dispute (see FRFI 60) the leadership of SOGAT and NGA have continued to wind it down. SOGAT is now claiming that it may have to cease paying strike benefits. At the SOGAT annual conference, control of the dispute was placed in the hands of two full time officials liaising directly with Brenda Dean. Eric Hammond, whose union, the EETPU, organised the scab workforce for Murdoch, is now being allowed to conduct secret negotiations with News International. The NUJ leadership is doing its best to help end the dispute by continuing to block any action against scab NUJ members working for Murdoch. At the last NEC meeting in June, motions from London Freelance Branch and others demanding action

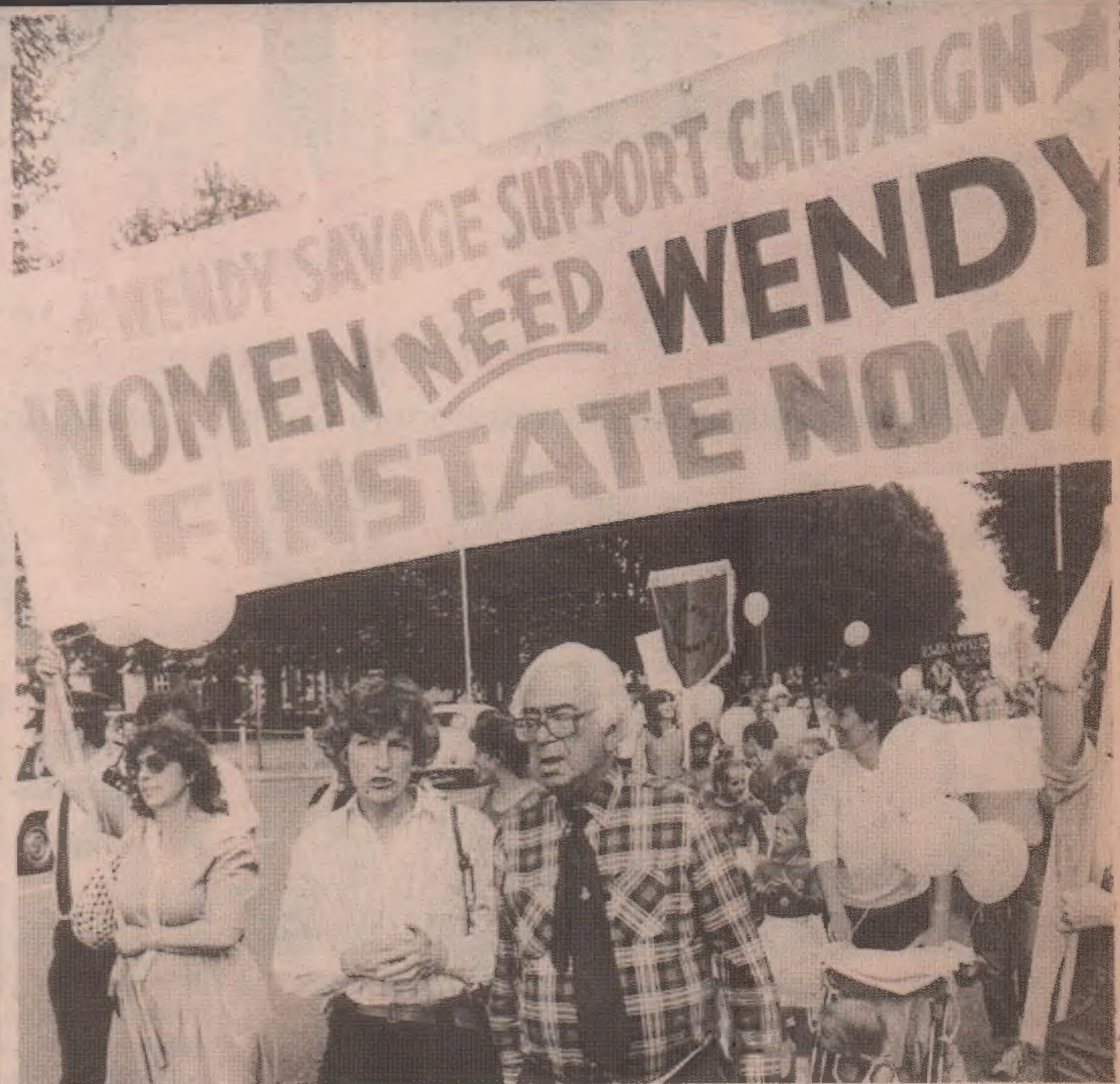
against the scabs, mysteriously vanished.

The only remaining focus of resistance to a dirty deal is the picketing of the plants by the strikers and their supporters. Hence the need to ban these protests. With the sacked workers and their supporters off the streets, the rotten alliance of Hammond (EETPU), Dean (SOGAT), Dubbins (NGA) and Conroy (NUJ) can set about arranging a 'compromise': recognition of a joint union council composed of national officials not local ones; some re-employment; increased compensation. The attitude of the union leadership to the mass pickets at Wapping was revealed when union counsel, in the High Court, condemned picketers who defend themselves against police violence, as

people with 'sick morals' that the unions were not responsible for.

On 30 June, Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, revealed that £1 million had been spent on policing the dispute up to 14 June; up to 1,870 police had been deployed at any one time; and 570,000 hours of police time consumed. The government, the police and News International management are determined to destroy jobs and union rights. The union leaderships are, it seems, willing to allow them to succeed. At the SOGAT conference in June, Brenda Dean declared that the union's top priority must be the return of a Labour government. A serious fight against News International would upset Kinnock's electoral appeal. Therefore, the workers at News International are to be sacrificed on the altar of Kinnock's thirst for power.

Terry O'Halloran
(NUJ London Freelance Branch)



BOB CANNON/FRAME

Re-instate Wendy Savage

On Thursday 10 July hundreds of people – women, children, nurses and doctors – marched on the London Hospital to demand the reinstatement of Wendy Savage, consultant obstetrician there until her suspension 15 months ago on charges of incompetence and malpractice.

A Tower Hamlets Health Authority enquiry had cleared her of all charges brought against her by the Chair of the Authority, Francis Cumberledge. It is estimated that over £250,000 was spent on holding the enquiry.

Wendy Savage has had the support of thousands of women in her fight to clear her name and for the right to practise patient-centred medicine. She is opposed to private practice. She is also opposed to factory farming methods of childbirth which have given Britain the highest rate of birth by Caesarian section of all Western European countries. Her stand made her the target of attacks by a male-dominated profession, most of whom are committed to private practice.

Additionally, Wendy Savage was one of the doctors who exposed the Depo Provera scandal in the early 80s. She gave evidence to an enquiry that immigrant women in the east London area were being used without their consent as guinea pigs for this long term contraceptive which has proved to have serious side

effects. Wendy Savage has been responsible for taking pre-natal care out into the community in East London, into the working class and immigrant areas where take-up of hospital-based services was so low as to seriously affect the health of mothers and their children. She has also been instrumental in the setting up of a daycare abortion unit – also under attack by other consultants.

The result of the enquiry rejects the suggestion that there was a conspiracy against Wendy Savage. The Chair of the Tower Hamlets Health Authority said, in response to the demonstration's demand for her reinstatement, that he was 'deciding nothing yet'.

Wendy Savage, vindicated by an exhaustive enquiry into her standards of practice and care in just five out of the thousands of cases she has dealt with, said, 'It's a victory for all of us. The right of a woman to choose what kind of care she has is at the heart of the battle.'

Maggie Mellon

Supergrass trial victims set free

In a significant victory against show trials, 18 of those men imprisoned on the evidence of paid perjurer Christopher Black had their convictions quashed by the Court of Appeal on 17 July.

The original trial judge had described Black as 'one of the most convincing witnesses I have ever heard,' and on this evidence sentenced 22 people to over 4000 years in prison. The Appeal Court judge however described Black as a 'villainous man whose evidence should have been treated with suspicion.' That these judges should have such differing views of the same man arises more from political than judicial reasons.

The supergrass strategy was, for British imperialism, an important method of imprisoning Republicans without evidence. Hundreds have been thus imprisoned. Even those found not guilty spend lengthy periods on remand equivalent in some cases to a five year gaol sentence. The paid perjurer strategy had however suffered numerous blows in the recent period, including acquittals, international condemnation and now this latest Appeal judgement. The most significant change has been the Anglo-Irish Agreement which has made it politically inexpedient to continue with such blatantly unjust show trials.

Maxine Williams

CPSA right overturn election

Ballots and democracy are very handy things, according to right-wing thinking in the trade union movement, especially as a stick to beat Arthur Scargill with, or whenever you want to stop or slow down a strike. However, when things go wrong for the right-wing, as happened in the recent CPSA elections, the self-same people have no scruples at all about dispensing with even the slightest shred of democracy.

A furore broke out when John Macreadie, a Militant supporter, was declared elected on 1 July as general secretary of the civil servants' union, the CPSA. Previous general secretary, right-winger Alistair Graham, has resigned in order to take up a lucrative job as director of the Industrial Society, at twice his former salary. Macreadie beat the right-wing candidate, John Ellis, by 121 votes. The right-wing majority on the CPSA executive, including Graham and president Marion Chambers, immediately banned Macreadie from taking office, claiming that they had had a 'number of telephone calls' alleging ballot irregularities. Such matters have never in the past prevented CPSA officials from taking office. Macreadie learned the folly of appealing to the ruling class courts for justice when, on 15 July, he failed to win a court order overturning the executive's ban. He was ordered to pay costs estimated at £8,000.

While the claims are being investigated (this could take 3 or 4 months), Macreadie will be locked out of his office. The final insult is that the defeated candidate, Ellis, as deputy general secretary, runs the union in the meantime. The CPSA has also ordered an inquiry into the election of a left-winger as treasurer. So much for the sanctity of the ballot box.

Macreadie's election poses a problem for Thatcher. Last year she stated that ministers would be allowed to refuse to deal with or suspend anyone in the Civil Service who is a member of a 'subversive group'. It also poses a problem for Kinnock who is currently waging a witch hunt against Militant inside the Labour Party. Clearly, many forces have an interest in overturning the democratic election of Macreadie. If he eventually takes office Macreadie will not be too popular with other trade union leaders. He has refused a £10,000 pay rise and will not be using his official car.

Olivia Adamson

The death of Mark Hogg

In July, the inquest into the death of prisoner Mark Hogg, the 'longest inquest' in British history, ended in an open verdict.

Mark Hogg was 33 and a 'fitness fanatic'. In mid-September 1985 he was transferred from Albany Prison to Exeter. On Friday 25 September he and another prisoner, Phillip Rutherford, were being moved again, this time to Wandsworth. Just after crossing the border into Somerset a struggle broke out on the coach and the prisoners escaped.

Recaptured - separately - within an hour, both were taken to Yeovil Police Station. Possibly because the police had been wrongly told they were Category A prisoners (which HMP Exeter cannot and does not accommodate) they were entrusted to the Task Force.

Who or what, you may well ask, is the Task Force? A sinister corps d'élite of hardened tough guys. Not at all, counsel for the police reassured us, just the 'dogsbody' of Somerset and Avon Constabulary - used on such 'dogsbody' type operations as Royal protection, 'hippy' containment and wielding short shields.

The Task Force consisted of five constables (of whom two were 'off sick' at the time) and a Sergeant. Now, they had been out on the chase and their uniforms were muddled. So, using the initiative for which task forces are so justly famed, they sent them to the dry cleaners. Whilst waiting, Sergeant Ansell and another Task-Forcer changed into overalls. Asked what they had done with their truncheons during this period, they replied that they hadn't worn them since the overalls had no pocket. The young prisoner who had noticed an officer in blue overalls with a truncheon or strap protruding from them must have been mistaken.

I do not want, Reader, to shake your well known confidence in the constabulary, but the truth must be told: the overalls *did* have pockets. A

truncheon placed therein stuck out in exactly the way the young man had described. From Yeovil the escapees were taken back by van to Exeter and put in the punishment block. Within minutes Mark Hogg was complaining to a doctor that he had been assaulted by the police.

The injuries were described at the inquest as being 'akin to those one might get in a game of rugby'. The difficulty is that on the two occasions when reasonable force could lawfully have been used against Mr Hogg all witnesses denied that he had been badly injured. It was almost universally agreed that from the moment the police spotted him Hogg was subdued and anxious. If there was a 'rugby game', it was a later one - a 'game' in which Mr Hogg was not a player but the ball. Mr Rutherford maintained that there were two such 'games' - one each at Yeovil Police Station and at Exeter Prison.

From the 27th onwards, Mark Hogg complained continually of feeling sick. This he attributed to being kicked in the abdomen and thrown into a fence post during recapture. Some of his captors thought he had a tummy bug while others put in writing that they believed he might be feigning illness in order to get into an outside hospital and thence escape. All were wrong, say the experts. Mr Hogg was suffering from a rare disease, vasculitis.

Mark Hogg's last letter to his wife has yet to arrive. On 1 October, he wrote to her that he felt as though a 'herd of elephants had trampled across his chest'. On the 3rd he felt better but by the 4th he had a fit and when eventually taken to the Royal Devon and Exeter Hospital acute renal failure was speedily diagnosed. He was successfully dialysed but died early next day of a heart attack. So, when this 5 October Tottenham commemorates Mrs Cynthia Jarrett, Rotherhithe will be remembering Mark Hogg.

Dave Leadbetter
Joint London Chair Inquest

John Shorthouse: police acquitted

Early in July PC Brian Chester was acquitted of the manslaughter of 5 year old John Shorthouse, shot through the heart in his Birmingham home last August.

PC Chester claimed 'that he did not know the child was asleep in his bed under some blankets and despite his rigorous training and reputation as 'a crack marksman, renowned for being cool and calm under pressure,' he shot John as he stood up from searching under his bed. The fact that there was no damage to the blankets from gun shot, that the angle the bullet entered John's heart would have meant Chester firing from above him, and that it takes 8lbs 11oz of trigger pressure to fire the gun, were overlooked in court. Chester claimed he did not know there were children in the house, yet local TV reported that the police had been surveying the house 3 days before the raid, so obviously knew children lived there.

Throughout the trial, the press published details of defence evidence which painted a picture of Chester as the 'victim' of a 'cruel 1,000 to one accident... of today's violence that requires an ordinary beat bobby without a penny of extra money to go into places to face possibly armed men.'

No gun was found in the Short-

house home let alone in John's room - where is the violence in a sleeping 5 year old child? Did Inspector Lovelock face a violent situation when he shot and paralysed Cherry Groce in Brixton a month after the Shorthouse death? No.

The fact is simply this. Guns in the hands of the police mean ordinary men, women and children shot dead by them and justice in pro-police courts not done.

Less than a fortnight after the verdict, Chester walked free through Willenhall council estate in Coventry, posing for the press as he kissed little children. One resident criticised the insensitivity of this. Another, more forthright said, 'He won't reign round here for two minutes. The big lads are waiting for him. He will get his comeuppance. The first time he arrests anybody he's had it. He wants shooting.'

West Midlands police may well be 'absolutely delighted with the result' of Chester's trial and looking forward to his imminent promotion to Sergeant. But Mr and Mrs Shorthouse have to live with the memory of their son's death. As Jacqueline Shorthouse said, '...I do not feel that justice has been done at all... I hold the police totally responsible for my son's death... If they write this one off as an accident how many more will there be?'

Auriel Fermo

At the beginning of July, Newman put out his *Public Order Review: Civil Disturbances 1981-1985*. In it he attempts to justify a further escalation of the police's offensive strategy against political opposition on the streets of the inner cities as a response to the 'unprecedented scale' of violence during the Autumn 1985 risings in Brixton and especially Tottenham.

'The nature and scale of violence directed against the police necessitated a major reappraisal of the Force's response to rioting'. (p15)

An increased number of officers in the Metropolitan Police will be armed and trained to use baton rounds (plastic bullets) and CS gas. They have been given permission to buy 24 bullet-proof vehicles, 80 armoured personnel carriers, 700 additional radios and 1,500 long truncheons. The use of water cannon is being assessed, so is that of the surveillance vehicles, at present in use for policing football matches. The police already possess two vehicles for barricade removal, no doubt more will be needed. Proposals are also being put forward to improve the 'Air Support Unit' and especially 'the capacity of the helicopter to operate during the hours of darkness'. 'Highly mobile and durable lighting' is necessary to illuminate areas of public disorder. And so it goes on.

Far from being a response to the immediate aftermath of the uprisings, this development follows the path set out in the counter-insurgency strategy developed by General Frank Kitson for use against liberation movements fighting imperialism. It has simply been adapted for use in a crisis-ridden Britain. (See *FRFI* 31, August 1983)

In this strategy so-called community policing and the elaborate network of 'community-liaison' bodies set up or encouraged by the police are part of a vast, centralised intelligence gathering operation. Newman's 1983 Report targeted Brixton, the Broadwater Farm Estate, Notting Hill and Finsbury Park for such treatment. Alongside this go the 'psychological operations': at this stage propaganda designed, with the help of the media, to isolate those initially driven into opposition to the police or government or those liable to lead and organise such opposition. This aims, in Kitson's words... to discover and neutralise the genuine subversive element' while associating 'prominent members' of the community with police or government actions.

In this context the powers of the police are continually strengthened to deal with the so-called 'subversive element' when police/'community' collaboration at any stage fails to contain the ever threatening rebellion against growing poverty, unemployment and racism.

It is a mistake to counterpose community policing to the paramilitary style police force outlined in Newman's *Public Order Review*. They are complementary components of a unified strategy to police a crisis-ridden Britain. Newman knows this but he has to tread carefully so as not to make the information too public. As the report states, one of the principal areas of concern 'in responding to outbreaks of serious spontaneous disorder' was,

'some apparent misconception about the relationship between law enforcement and the sensitive and discretionary aspects of what has generally come to be known as community policing' (p15)

Newman makes it clear that 'effective law enforcement is a central part of community policing' (p16). And his utter contempt for those members of the public who would question this 'effective law enforcement' is quickly made clear:

'Whilst seeking general approval, we are not dependent upon the support of those who wish to see a weak police force so that they can commit crime and go unpunished' (p16 our emphasis).

This statement shows a sinister feature that runs through all Newman's reports. Anyone who opposes or criticises the police is deliberately identified with crime. This development is no accident. In a period of growing crisis Newman's police have to immediately crush any serious opposition to the state while retaining some legitimacy for the police in

Newman declares war on the people

'It is evident that people other than criminals can be critical of the police' (*Broadwater Farm Inquiry* p173)

Three years ago we reviewed Kenneth Newman's first report as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. In that article we said:

'Newman knows that growing unemployment, poverty and racism will lead inevitably to political opposition and uprisings on the streets. He also knows that those in the forefront of that struggle will be unemployed youth and especially black youth. His task is to prepare and use the police to put down these forces. And he has to be sure that the brutal methods of repression used are "acceptable" to public opinion.' (*FRFI* 31, August 1983)



the eyes of the public. As the *Public Order Review* states:

'If disorder does come it must be dealt with quickly and effectively. Strong measures may be required. These are not likely to be in the traditional image of the Force or to look attractive.' (Introduction para 10)

'Psychological operations' are vital here. To justify the brutal and often illegal methods of the police, not only must those being attacked be classed as criminals but so must those objecting to the police methods being used.

It is, therefore, of little surprise that Newman made sure that his *Public Order Review* was publicly launched five days before a very critical and damning report on police activities at Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham. It was part of a propaganda exercise to use the media to rubbish *The Broadwater Farm Inquiry* before it came out. For that inquiry chaired by Lord Gifford gives a detailed analysis of the autumn 1985 events at Broadwater Farm Estate - the same events which are used in the *Public Order Review* to justify the latest stage in the Metropolitan Police's offensive strategy. *The Broadwater Farm Inquiry* in fact exposes the concoction of half-truths and professional lies contained in the *Public Order Review*, which are the hallmark of Newman's public statements and reports.

Let us remember that the immediate cause of the events at Broadwater Farm Estate was the death of

Cynthia Jarrett during a police search of her home. The *Public Order Review* deals with this in a cursory and dismissive way. No criticism of the police operation, just a one sided statement of 'fact':

'... following the arrest of her son, police visited Mrs Jarrett's home. While police were on the premises Mrs Jarrett collapsed and died. A coroner's inquest into the death recorded a verdict of "accidental death"' (p8)

The *Review* tells us further that the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) had announced that no criminal charges or discipline offences would be preferred against any police officer involved. The *Inquiry* draws very different conclusions: the PCA had 'failed lamentably to grapple with the real issues'; and that on 13 counts the police officers involved could have been subject to, at least, disciplinary offences. These included racism, the (unwarranted) arrest of Floyd Jarrett, a search without a warrant, behaviour that led to the death of Mrs Jarrett, lies and other unauthorised acts. Much of this was accepted by the inquest jury in reaching the verdict of accidental death.

On 7 October Newman put the Tottenham and Brixton uprisings down to 'groups of trotskyists and anarchists... orchestrating the disturbances'. Scotland Yard was forced to deny this ten days later. So Newman's *Review* has to give another version of the cause of the events. It was not, of course, police harassment, police provocation or police racism but the fact that the

'estate... provided little social control of a younger generation already at odds with society as a whole' (p5)

A page later the theme continues, the estate had a 'reputation for drug trafficking' and 'as a haven for the handling of stolen property'. 'Normal policing methods are resisted by a vociferous ill-disposed minority'. 'Gratuitous abuse and violence towards the police became a daily occurrence during periods of tension'. The *Review* goes on for two pages to list event after event where the police or others were said to be attacked by black youths. Finally and inevitably we have Newman's favourite theme, the 'hard core' of 50-60 criminals 'intent on ensuring that their lucrative trade in drugs and other criminal activity could continue unchecked'. Typical Newman-type half-truths, lies and propaganda to turn anyone driven to oppose or fight the police into a criminal. Another theme, in no way consistent with the events, is that the rising was pre-planned and organised and not a spontaneous response to police actions against black youths and others living on the estate. And all this is now being used no doubt to justify the police siege of the estate for months after the uprising as well as the brutal police repression and revenge directed at black families.

The *Inquiry* gives quite a different picture of the estate, as well as of police behaviour and actions. The *Inquiry* gives example after example of police racism, harassment and provocation. Newman's *Review* relates an incident on 2 November 1982 when two metal beer kegs were dropped from one of the high level walkways on the estate on to a police car. Later that day two police officers were also ambushed and one was hit on the head with a billiard cue. Newman failed to inform us, however, that the day before a member of the Youth Association was arrested on a false charge of burgling the social club. And that a peaceful demonstration, including women and young children, outside the police station demanding his release was brutally attacked by a special unit of the police in riot gear returning to Tottenham Police Station after attending a demonstration in Brixton.

After the 1981 risings in Brixton, Newman was chosen to be Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police because the ruling class needed to use the experience he gained in the Six Counties of Ireland in the inner cities of Britain. In Ireland from 1976-79 the torture of suspects to force out 'confessions', so Irish people could be brought before Diplock (non-jury) courts and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on the basis of those so-called 'confessions', became an administrative practice. Behind that practice was a very dangerous and sinister figure, then Chief Constable of the RUC, Kenneth Newman. This man continued to deny torture was taking place after the Amnesty International Report, after conclusive evidence from his police surgeon, and after evidence was appearing in the press and media. He continued to maintain that injuries on suspects were 'self-inflicted' as part of an IRA propaganda campaign.

351 people were arrested after the Broadwater Farm Estate events. Only 147 were charged. Many of those arrested were held for days, with no access to solicitors, relatives or friends. As the *Inquiry* points out 'it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the investigating officers denied access to solicitors because they wished to hold suspects incommunicado for long periods and thus put maximum pressure on them to make a confession' (p136). Six people face murder charges in connection with the death of PC Blakelock. They were all brutally interrogated, often under illegal conditions, and forced to 'name names' and sign 'confessions'. Winston Silcott was held for 3 days without access to anyone, naked except for a paper bag - said by the prosecution to be paper 'clothes'. There will be a show trial early next year. Newman's influence is clearly close at hand.

The working class movement in Britain failed to organise against Newman when he was directing the oppression of the Irish people. So far it has failed to organise against him now his police are using that experience against the black people of Broadwater Farm Estate. The *Public Order Review* is a warning to us all.

Labour council attacks homeless

The Labour-controlled council of the London borough of Southwark showed its true colours last month when it called in scores of police to push through mass evictions of local squatters. The first major confrontation took place on the Pullens Estate, a pre-war estate where most of the flats are without bathrooms. Squatters and tenants presented a united front to bailiffs and vanloads of police, pelting them with flour, paint and worse from balconies.

Squatters in 24 flats on the Rockingham Estate were also evicted. But when the bailiffs turned to the Kinglake and Alvey estate a week later they got more than they bargained for. They were confronted by more barricades and a mass gathering of squatters. When they failed to get police backing they gave up.

At 6am on 24 June the bailiffs returned with over 100 police and squads of workmen. Resistance was crushed, with eight people arrested and one badly injured in the police attack. Squatters' possessions were thrown out of the windows to smash on the ground below. Their flats were boarded up and padlocked. The council tried to prevent squatters from returning by moving in new tenants straight away. Most of these intended tenants had no idea of what was going on. Some were offered rent-free periods to accept the flats without seeing them. The council's plan backfired, though, with many people refusing: some out of solidarity with the squatters and others because of the poor condition of the flats. Many flats were resquat-

ted the same day - some even before the police had left the estate.

The council claims that the more than 1,000 squatters in the borough have 'jumped the queue' and deprived other people on the housing list of homes, portraying them as scroungers who are trying to avoid paying rent. The truth, of course, is quite different. Most squatters are in flats that no-one on the housing list will take. Many improve their flats and most are willing to pay rent but are prevented by the council from doing so. Meanwhile, around 2,000 other flats stand empty.

Squatters are the victims of homelessness and bad housing, not their cause. It is a symptom of the sickness of capitalist society that thousands of homes stand empty while thousands of people are forced to sleep on the streets or in filthy hostels. It is also a sign of the limitations of 'municipal socialism' that councils cannot afford to build and maintain decent homes for all.

For a short time after a 'left' council kicked out John O'Grady's right-wing Labour mafia in 1982, it recognised these arguments, and granted tenancies to squatters in 'hard to let' flats. But then O'Grady, the Liberals and the fascists all started to win support away from the Labour Party by stirring up the prejudices of the traditional Labour voters - the employed white working class - against squatters (and gays - remember Peter Tatchell). Then the realities of electoral politics reasserted themselves, and most of the Labour group switched back to squatter-bashing in order to regain the allegiance of the traditional Labour voters.

Dave Hunter

Nuclear threat in the Irish Sea

The Chernobyl nuclear disaster focussed the world's attention on the dangers of land-based reactors. But what about the hidden dangers of nuclear submarines? The Irish Sea and the coast of Ireland are among the busiest submarine routes in the world. British, US and French nuclear submarines travel at speeds up to 40mph while submerged.

A major accident on board one of these subs could end all fishing in the Irish Sea and contaminate the coasts of Ireland and Britain. Unlike land-based nuclear reactors, subs have no 'containment' area to prevent the spread of radioactivity. The subs that patrol the Irish Sea all have similar reactors to that which gave rise to the Three Mile Island accident in Pennsylvania in 1979.

The 10 US nuclear subs using Holy Loch on the Firth of Clyde have enough Poseidon missiles to generate 10,000 Hiroshimas. Violating international laws, these subs come within three miles of the Irish coast, showing no regard for shipping. Deaths and serious accidents have occurred to both fishermen and sub crews. In September 1983, a nuclear sub the *USS Sam Rayburn* ran into dumped barrels of nuclear waste, 300 miles south of Cobh harbour. It was forced to stay on the sea bed for up to three days until help came. The sub leaked radiation and on its return to Holy Loch had to be decontaminated for up to four weeks. On 13 March 1986, the *USS Nathaniel Greene* ran aground in the Irish Sea and made it back to base with damaged ballast tanks.

In December 1981, the *New Statesman* revealed a serious incident at Holy Loch. A Poseidon missile dropped 17 feet and crashed into the side of a ship supplying the *USS Almos*. It was also revealed that drug taking is widespread among submarine crews, and that officers have a high turnover rate among crews whose average age is 24.

In 1982, the trawler *Sharelga* from Co Louth was towed backwards for several miles before it capsized and sank. The crew was saved by fellow fishermen. The British government at first denied any involvement, but later admitted that the *HMS Porpoise* sub was responsible. An Irish government-completed report on this affair was never made public.

January 1983 saw a French trawler, the *Cite d'Aleth*, sink in near perfect weather conditions six miles south west of Carnsore Point. A radio distress signal indicated that its nets were caught up in an underwater object. The crew's relatives accused the Dublin and London governments of a cover-up. In 1984 the trawler *Oriel*, also from Co Louth, had to cut its nets to stay afloat. According to CND, this happened during a NATO training exercise.

The Dublin government's representative at the 1985 International Maritime Organisation conference in London refused to condemn NATO submarine operations off the Irish coasts. So much for a government that claims to be neutral. Sadly, it seems that the rich fishing grounds off Ireland are now firmly in the hands of, and at the mercy of, NATO. While Irish people have never been consulted.

Cathal McGrath

ment of Education to encourage teachers to pass on low-grade information about 'problem' pupils. It is now increasingly standard practice for police to be present at case conferences where 'concerned professionals' ie social workers, teachers, and doctors, gather together to discuss individual pupils and their families.

A London teacher

Sri Lankan regime forced onto defence

The Tamil people's struggle for self-determination led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (see FRFI 60), has forced the Sri Lankan government onto the defensive. Playing for time President Jayewardene has proposed a plan involving autonomy up to provincial council level for the Tamil people, but falling short of their demand for a separate Tamil state.

Jayewardene's forces have steadily lost the military initiative to the Tamil partisans who have effectively defeated the Sri Lankan troop offensive in the north while stepping up their operations in the east. The army base in Trincomalee is under siege and its troops are unable to venture out to launch forays into the surrounding territory.

Meanwhile, Jayewardene is under increasing pressure from his international backers. This June an aid consortium held under the auspices of the World Bank and comprising 14 countries, including Britain, donated over \$700 million to the Jayewardene government for the coming year. They expect returns for their money and are embarrassed by the brutality of the tactics employed by Jayewardene's forces. Even the Indian government has questioned the Sri Lankan regime's sincerity in its claim to be seeking a peaceful solution.

The worsening plight of the Sri Lankan economy has emphasised the regime's dependence upon aid

and compelled Jayewardene to respond to his backers' concern. Tea, which constitutes 42% of Sri Lanka's exports, has plummeted in price, while tourism, constituting 14.2%, has dwindled as a result of the war. Sri Lankan workers are growing disgruntled with Jayewardene's performance.

The combination of military, diplomatic and domestic pressures has forced Jayewardene to initiate the proposals as a basis for peace talks, and seek the assistance of the Indian government as a mediator in the hope that it will pressure bourgeois sections of the Tamils to negotiate. While the Tamil United Liberation Front has responded and sent a delegation to Colombo to negotiate their prospects are not good despite Indian government support for Jayewardene's plans. Tamil people have a bitter experience of dealing with the Sri Lankan government. The last 'peace talks' held in August 1985, collapsed as Jayewardene broke the ceasefire agreement, continued the massacre of Tamil

civilians, and used the breathing space to call in ex-SAS and Israeli Mossad and Shin Beth to train the elite Special Task Force.

Again, while proclaiming his 'peace plan' to the world Jayewardene is continuing the slaughter of Tamils. In the last week of June, 26 Tamil refugees returning from India to resettle their now liberated lands were attacked at sea by a Sri Lankan gun-boat. When their bodies were washed up near Mannar on the north west coast the Sri Lankan regime claimed that they were guerrillas. Also near Mannar on 13 July, Sri Lankan troops stormed what they called a 'guerrilla camp'. It transpired that about 40 Tamil and Muslim people, mainly civilians, were murdered in the raid.

Jayewardene revealed his true intentions when he stated his terms for meeting the Tamil resistance leaders, 'If they come here they will be arrested. If they drop their arms, drop terrorism, I will give them amnesty and meet them.' In other words, accept military defeat, surrender your struggle; terms unlikely to appeal to the Tigers and the risen Tamil people.

Trevor Rayne/Viraj Mendis

Jordan King Hussein turns on the PLO

King Hussein of Jordan, with US and British approval, has abandoned his long effort to involve the right-wing of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in a collaborationist and capitulationist settlement with Zionism and imperialism. In a decisive move on 7 July, Hussein ordered the closure of 25 offices controlled by Al Fatah, the largest organisation in the PLO led by Yassir Arafat. Additionally numerous officials including Abu Iyad, Arafat's second in command, were also expelled from Jordan.

The split between Arafat and Hussein was the culmination of a process begun in February this year when the King declared the joint PLO/Jordanian 'peace process' dead. In March, Hussein instigated a split within Al Fatah led by one Colonel Atallah Atallah representing the organisation's extreme right. Urged on by Reagan and Thatcher, Hussein was promising the PLO a role in the US sponsored 'peace process' on condition that Arafat accepted UN Resolution 242 and renounced the armed struggle. Resolution 242, while recognising 'Israel', treats the Palestinian question as no more than a refugee problem. In the occupied territories, Zionism's 'iron fist' of repression and land grabbing continues unabated - financed by US and British money. In these circumstances acceptance of Hussein's 'conditions' and participation in the imperialist 'peace process' is tantamount to unconditional and humiliating surrender. Atallah Atallah was prepared to accept, but Yassir Arafat refused, despite his past readiness to pin hopes on Arab reaction and the possibility of imperialist pressure on Israel.

King Hussein is now continuing, jointly with 'Israel', to create a new anti-PLO, anti-nationalist bourgeois leadership on the West Bank and Gaza Strip without the cover of 'respectable' Palestinian nationalist backing. Jordanian parliamentary elections are being prepared to include representation from collaborators in the West Bank and thus legitimise Hussein's claim to represent the Palestinian people.

In addition, the Jordanian government is embarking on a 5 year economic programme involving up to \$200m a year to buy the political allegiance of the West Bank bourgeoisie and sections of the petit-bourgeoisie. This stratum with its fortunes tied to Zionism, imperialism and the Jordanian regime will be happy to sacrifice the national and social interests of the vast majority of Palestinian people. While bribing the Palestinian bourgeoisie Hussein is relying on Zionist repression to destroy all popular nationalist resist-

ance. When secure enough, he will then sit at Zionism's and imperialism's table with a bunch of collaborators to work out his own Camp David and relinquish the West Bank to 'Israel' leaving the Palestinian masses to suffer perpetual oppression.

of 32 activists were attacked by Jordanian police leaving 18 dead and 50 wounded.

Commenting on Hussein's latest attack on the PLO, a pro-Arafat PLO official stated:

'The fundamental difference between the King and the PLO is that while we are fighting to resolve the Palestinian problem, he is trying to delete it.'

The Palestinian revolution however is not prepared to be deleted either by repression or bribery. Hussein's latest actions have merely shown the revolutionary movement that in the



On Thursday 10 July the Campaign Against Police Repression (CAPR) marked the arrival of the Public Order Bill in the House of Lords by displaying a 34 foot banner from the balcony of County Hall. CAPR are organising a march in defiance of the Bill's regulations to take place on the Saturday after the Bill becomes law. Anyone wanting to join the list of organisers of the 'Saturday After' march should contact CAPR at 83, Blackstock Road, London N4.

Police out of schools

Two government amendments to the Education Bill at present on its way through parliament, will make it legally enforceable for school governors and head teachers to consult the views of Chief Police Officers when drawing up and implementing the school curriculum. This is a response to the stand taken against police intrusion into schools by increasing numbers of teachers, particularly in inner London.

The starting point of many teachers' opposition was the murder by police of Hackney teacher Blair Peach during an anti-racist march in

Southall in 1979. Since then, the role of the police as an instrument of class repression has become even more clearly defined. The uprisings of 1981 and 1985, the role of the police in the mining areas 1984-85, police harassment of black people and police failure to protect black people under attack from fascists have all made it increasingly difficult for teachers to defend the presence of police in schools. The Daneford 12 case - where 12 Inner London school teachers were arrested, charged and found guilty, merely for protesting against racism, drove home the point.

Police gain entry into schools under the guise of teaching kids about road safety, about the dangers of 'talking to strangers', drugs and getting involved in petty crime. Yet most teachers agree in any case that these issues are best discussed with known and trusted adults (like teachers) rather than with some blue-uniformed figure seen on TV the night before beating people over the head with a riot stick.

The police's real purpose for going into schools, apart from trying to improve their image, is to spy. There have been a number of recent attempts by police and the Depart-



November 1985: King Hussein and Yassir Arafat warmly embracing

Hussein can persevere with his vile and dirty deeds only by further escalating repression against Jordanian and Palestinian nationalists who are fighting his reactionary collaboration with imperialism and Zionism. Hussein has imposed virtual martial law in the country. Political parties are banned. The police can detain anyone without trial. Since the beginning of this year over 300 Palestinian and Jordanian nationalists, trade unionists, journalists, student activists and others have been arrested to try and halt growing opposition to the King's regime. On 14 May this year, students at Yarmouk University protesting against rises in fees and the expulsion

struggle for liberation no faith can be placed in alliances with, or promises from Arab reaction or imperialism. The pro-Arafat wing of the PLO, once feted in Jordan's capital Amman, is now being forced to reconsider its strategy. Powerful trends are arguing for a return to the revolutionary nationalist struggle. One official put the question as follows:

'We are daily witnessing the blacks of South Africa winning their freedom. That is the model we must follow. We must make the occupied territories the centre of our activities.'

Eddie Abrahams

Reagan wins aid for contra bandits

The US Congress finally succumbed to Presidential pressure, and, on 25 June, voted \$100m to the contra mercenaries. A jubilant Reagan declared the vote 'a step forward in bipartisan consensus in American foreign policy'. It unites the US ruling class behind Reagan's war drive on Nicaragua and Central America, and is a critical 'step-forward' towards an all-out US invasion of Nicaragua.

Congress cut off overt aid in 1984, after the CIA had mined Nicaraguan harbours. Covert supplies, orchestrated from the White House, continued. 'Humanitarian' aid of \$27m was resumed in 1985. Now, the \$100m will consist of \$70m in military and \$30m in 'humanitarian' aid. The final instalment, due in February 1987, will include heavy weapons. Surface-to-air missiles have been promised. The CIA will control distribution of the aid and provide weapons training. Restrictions on covert actions have been lifted: Reagan has called Nicaragua 'a cancer that must be removed'.

By way of thanking their sponsor the contras attacked a ferry boat on 26

June, killing a woman passenger and wounding seven others. The following day they murdered a 65 year old man and his four daughters, and on 4 July, while Reagan presided over the giant

Revolutionary measures

The Nicaraguan revolution faces a trial of terror. The US imperialists are no more interested in peaceful settlements or negotiation when their interests are threatened than Hitler was over Poland or Thatcher over the Malvinas. Terror and war become legitimate instruments in the pursuit of their interests. As in Grenada, so in Nicaragua they will exploit any weakness in their efforts to crush the revolution.



Nicaraguan school students demonstrate their support of the Sandinistas against the threat of US imperialism: above right: a Nicaraguan gunship used in the battles against the contras.

firework display celebrating Independence Day, his 'moral equivalents of the founding fathers' blew up a bus in northern Nicaragua killing 32 people, 12 of them children. The Cuban newspaper *Granma* puts the number of Nicaraguan casualties of the US 'low intensity' war at 27,000 with 14,000 dead.

The Sandinistas responded swiftly to the Congressional vote and strengthened the internal defences of the revolution. *La Prensa*, opposition newspaper and favourite venue for all news teams seeking to slander the revolution, was shut down on 26 June. The Ministry of the Interior explained, 'What country in

time of war allows the enemy to openly publish newspapers in its capital. The decision of the US congress was an open declaration of war against Nicaragua.' Two other mouthpieces of reaction and demoralisation, bishops from the privileged Roman Catholic elite, were also shut up through forcible exile. President Ortega made it clear that the action was forced upon him, 'Freedom of religion exists in Nicaragua and will continue. But freedom of religion does not mean one can conspire against the revolution with the people of the counter-revolution, with Reagan's people, people of the CIA'.

These revolutionary measures have been taken in defence of worker and peasant power in Nicaragua. The US President, the Pope, the 'liberal' press and social democratic dreamers and deceivers might shriek with horror, but no revolution anywhere has ever survived without smashing the resistance of the exploiters. If the US people saw behind the plaster and pose mockery of their history they would find that their 'founding fathers' exiled 100,000 counter-revolutionaries loyal to the English crown, 500,000 more were forbidden the rights to vote, teach, preach, own property or hold office, and their printing presses were confiscated.

'Clean boots and dirty hands'

The Chairman of the Congressional sub-committee on Latin American Affairs has charged the contra leaders with embezzling over half 1985's \$27m. They are known to have opened supermarkets, invested in Florida real estate, opened bank accounts in the Bahamas and financed cocaine trading out of Costa Rica and Honduras. They have, as one ex-contra put it, 'clean boots and dirty hands'.

The contras avoid military confrontations and prefer kidnappings, ambushes of civilians, attacks on co-operative farms, assassinations, and squabbling over the aid. Adolfo Calero, formerly head of Coca Cola in Managua, now a contra leader, ordered former Somoza National Guardsman, Ricardo Law, to murder Pedro Ortiz, alias 'Suicide' who had accused Calero of embezzlement. Law is credited with helping to murder Archbishop Romero of San Salvador. Reagan and Thatcher's 'freedom fighters' also planned to kill the US ambassador to Honduras, who

lacked his President's enthusiasm for their antics. The contras were foiled when a more appreciative ambassador was recently installed.

Wherever the \$100m ends up, the US strategy is to wear the Nicaraguan economy down, demoralise its people and turn them against the Sandinistas, while seeking to provoke an incident on Nicaragua's border that will serve as a pretext for a full scale US invasion.

The US Goliath fears Nicaragua. For long the most geographically secure class of multimillionaires in the world, Reagan and his gangsters know that Nicaragua is the vanguard of a Latin American revolution that threatens their physical existence. After the \$100m what next? Reagan will use the Congressional vote to try and overcome the US people's reluctance to become enmeshed in another Vietnam: this time raging at their front door.

Trevor Rayne

Nicaragua wins in international court

The day after the contra aid vote the International Court of Justice announced its long-awaited verdict ordering the US to cease and desist from its aggression against Nicaragua. The US refused to abide by the judgement. Predictably, the British representative at the Court, Sir Robert Jennings, dissented from the verdict.

According to the 3 July *Guardian*, David Hoile, the Tory student leader who has visited the contra training camps in Honduras in order to promote their cause, said that the \$100m for the contras will lead to incursions by Sandinista defence forces against Honduras and Costa Rica - 'and eventually there will be one incursion too many'.

This article also names Hoile as convener of the recently-formed 'Committee for a Free Nicaragua', a contra front outfit with links to a US right-wing think tank, the Heritage Foundation. It includes Tory MPs and wealthy businessmen, and its aim is to build support for a US invasion which, according to the article, it believes to be imminent.

Mike Webber

Chile regime acts to smash national strike

Chile's repressive military regime acted with characteristic brutality to stifle opposition protests during a two day national strike organised by the National Civic Assembly (NCA) on 2 and 3 July. Seven young slum dwellers were murdered by security forces, at least 50 others injured and over 700 arrested. By dawn the working class areas of Santiago were littered with the remains of improvised barricades, thrown up to keep troops and police out.

The stoppage was most effective in the public services: transport, haulage, hospitals, schools and universities which reflect the forces behind the newly formed NCA - an umbrella organisation including Chile's Truckers Federation, professional groups, labour and student unions and small business owners. Major industries such as electricity and coal mining were not seriously affected but 2,500 copper miners did march in protest through Chuquicamata.

The involvement of the Truckers Federation demonstrates how Chile's petty bourgeoisie has become disillusioned with Pinochet's government since they helped to bring it to power in 1973. The Truckers' leader, Hector Moya, says 'We were had. The military took our democracy and added economic enslavement'.

During the strike the armed opposition forces, including the Manuel Rodriguez Front (FMR) continued their attacks on a variety of targets. 75 bombs were reported to have gone off during the two days and an 800-mile stretch of the country was plunged into darkness when power lines were brought down.

In the aftermath of the strike the leadership of the Chilean Communist Party has signalled its willingness to enter into negotiations with the military. A Communist Party spokesman, Rodrigo Perez, said 'The Party has considered that one formula would be a military government without Pinochet. If there were guarantees for all sectors, he would not be an obstacle to such a solution.' Led by the Communist Party, the Democratic Popular Movement is being pulled in behind the bourgeois Democratic Alliance, which has shunned the mobilisation of the masses and condemned the armed struggle.

Andy Price

Basque victory in general election

A successful ETA bomb attack on 14 July in Madrid killed 9 Civil Guards and wounded over 30 others. The death toll is the heaviest sustained by the Spanish security forces during the 17 year long ETA military struggle for Basque independence. It followed the expulsion from France to Gabon of former ETA commander Domingo Irtube and on the eve of the new Spanish parliament. Our correspondent from Spain assesses the recent Basque electoral successes in the light of the armed struggle.

Seconds after the ballot boxes were closed at 8pm on 22 June the first estimated results of the 1986 General Elections were being forwarded on the radio and they confirmed the advance of Herri Batasuna, the radical Basque coalition, much to the alarm of other parliamentary parties, including the parliamentary communists.

Whilst only days before the legalisation of ETA by the more conservative elements of Spanish politics, different politicians now rushed to describe Herri Batasuna's election campaign as 'moderate' and insist that most of the coalition's voters were decent folk who supported Herri Batasuna's more folkloric aims but who in no way condoned the use of violence. It is patently clear, however, that Herri Batasuna's five MPs were elected precisely for their demand for political negotiation and their openly stated view that the armed struggle must continue until such negotiation takes place. The Basque people voted for negotiation between ETA and



Aftermath of ETA attack on the civil guard

the Spanish army as the first step towards peace and justice in Euskadi.

The reaction in Euskadi following the death of Joseba Asenio, member of ETA in one of Spain's most horrific extermination prisons and the callous and brutal disruption of a popular homage for him, followed the kidnapping of his coffin by police in Bilbao.

This happened days before the elections and only served to strengthen Herri Batasuna's position: negotiation and not police repression will solve the Basque problem.

Perhaps the greatest advance has been the election of a Basque nationalist MP in Navarre, thereby re-vindicating

the Basque view that Navarre is part of their nation. And what most annoys establishment politicians is that Herri Batasuna's MPs refuse to attend Parliament, amongst other reasons because the Basque people have never endorsed the Spanish Constitution.

Helen

Prison massacre in Peru

The Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) state that over 400 of their guerillas were murdered; the Peruvian government has declared the prisons to be restricted security zones, and has restricted all information on the joint police and military operation. President Alan Garcia issued the order that launched the most atrocious prison massacre in modern Latin American history on 18 and 19 June, and he vindicated what he called the armed forces 'severity in application of the law'.

Sendero Luminoso, which has been waging a 6 year long guerilla war, launched a co-ordinated protest against prison conditions on 18 June, the eve of the Congress of the Socialist (Second) International. This is an organisation which includes such social democratic traitors as the British Labour Party, the Israeli Labour Party; Prime Minister Bettino Craxi from Italy and Willy Brandt from West Germany were celebrity guests at the gathering. President Garcia's own APRA is a member of this Socialist International. Not one of the eminent socialists present at the congress has made a strong criticism of him; in fact they have offered excuses for him. Garcia has used this to save face and to deflect blame away from himself and the armed forces onto a few governmental functionaries and the Republican Guard - the smallest and weakest of Peru's three police forces - in spite of the fact that the police were outnumbered 5 to 1 by the military in the prison attacks and were commanded by an army general.

The few survivors of the slaughter have been incarcerated in an H-Block style prison camp, which the Sendero believe to have been built to the specifications of that other 'socialist' government of Felipe Gonzalez' Spain.

Lucy Francis

Gifford's good intentions Newman's road to hell

'It was that horrible fear that you live with day by day, knowing that they could come and kick down your door and drag you off and hold you for hours.'

(The Broadwater Farm Inquiry, Gifford Report, p132).

The Metropolitan Police... must, in the discharge of its responsibility to uphold the rule of law, take appropriate measures to quell riots as they occur. The public should be in no doubt that these measures will be speedy, firm and effective.'

(Metropolitan Police, Public Order Review: Civil Disturbances 1981-1985).

Sir Kenneth Newman, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, published his own report five days before the Gifford Report. It is his public snub to the Public Inquiry, chaired by Lord Gifford QC. The Inquiry, for which Haringey Council allocated £225,000, set out to present an independent view of the Broadwater Farm Estate and its people by the process of holding 22 public hearings, talking to 77 witnesses, and having 80 interviews.

Orchestrated hysteria

Sir Kenneth Newman refused from the outset to co-operate with the Gifford Inquiry. In fact, the Metropolitan Police had responded to the uprising on 7 October 1985, stating at a press conference that they knew what lay behind it:

'Groups of trotskysts and anarchists had been identified as orchestrating the disturbances in Tottenham and in Brixton a week earlier. They are both Black and White and come from within and outside London, operating in areas of ethnic concentration.'

This 'lead' by the head of the Met was taken up the next day by the national press with such headlines as 'Street Fighting experts trained in Moscow and Libya were behind Britain's worst violence.' (Daily Express, 8/10/85). This version of the uprising was changed within 10 days and a Scotland Yard spokesman stated, 'We don't believe outside agitators were responsible for what happened in Tottenham'.

It was not merely 'irresponsible' as the Gifford Report states (p124) or silly of Newman to create the dramatic headlines the day after. It was deliberate manipulation of the media to create an atmosphere where politicians would not question the fate that was about to fall on the Broadwater Farm Estate.

Siege tactics

The Gifford Inquiry found that the majority of the 351 arrests took place with scant regard for the legality of search warrants, rights of juveniles or the rights of defendants and their relatives. Intimidation in homes and police cells, beatings, sleep deprivation, detention without access to lawyers or relatives for more than 36 hours, became common place in the following months. Their purpose was to secure 'confessions' and to terrify the community into silence as it suffered a state of siege: postmen were instructed by police not to deliver mail, preventing unemployed residents from receiving their dole cheques.

'If the police do want support... they must stop policing in such a way as to cause Black people to feel they are the ones being targeted.' (Gifford Report, p169)

There was never any possibility of the police responding to the people with anything but violence. When the Youth Association was started in 1981, it became clear that black people could take the lead in organising themselves around their needs and those of their white neighbours. As resources were developed and projects grew on the estate, centering around the work of Dolly Kiffin and Clasford Stirling, the rate of crime on the estate fell by 50%



Tottenham youth hide their faces in front of TV cameras at the inquiry

from 1982 to 1985. But the community efforts of the Youth Association, Residents Association and the locally based Social Service workers were boycotted by the local Y Division Met police. Indeed, Sergeant Gillian Meynell, who was in charge of the estate's home beat team from May 1985, never met Dolly Kiffin or any of the community leaders, and stated that she and her team were not allowed to meet with community groups (p42).

In common with the Scarman Report into the 1981 Brixton uprising, the Gifford Report calls for the police to consult with and be accountable to the community, and for Police Authorities to be made up of elected representatives. It is interesting to note that as a result of the Scarman Report, racism in the police is deemed an offence: one with which no police officer has ever been charged!

Police Consultative Groups: Newman's Watchdogs

Kenneth Newman's Metropolitan Police is only concerned with those sections of the population who serve the purpose of police consultative groups. After the 1981 uprisings, Lord Scarman proposed statutory police consultative groups. These became law under the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (Section 106). The Met has turned these groups into a force to be used against the genuine interests of the community and to serve as low-grade intelligence gathering sources to help target 'trouble spots' and 'subversives'. The police are not accountable to these groups and are not bound to discuss operational matters with them. In Tottenham, the local force has only been prepared to meet with the Haringey Community and Police Consultative Group. They have shown nothing but contempt for the efforts by the people of the estate to advance the community. Indeed, they have boycotted every local initiative to meet and discuss problems such as the appearance of drug pushers in the area of Broadwater Farm. They were furious when the Youth Association dealt with petty crime, and they ignored protests about saturation policing and racist abuse by police on the estates.

The nature of the 'Police Consultative Groups' was apparent at the public meeting called by the police at Wood Green Civic Centre on 4 July. This meeting was attended by over 90 white

and 2 black people from the 'Consultative' group and the Neighbourhood Watch Schemes. Commander Dave Pulkinghorne, head of Public Order Y Division, both heightened and calmed 'fears' about the 8 July picket of Tottenham police station (see report) and the march from Broadwater Farm to the anti-racist festival at Finsbury Park on 20 July.

When the demand was raised for the

march to be banned, the assembled reactionaries were assured by Pulkinghorne that 'all the resources of the Met' would be available at a moment's notice. His audience offered to help the police: 'We will hold the big stick', they promised, 'while you hold the short truncheons.' The young black man who went from the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign to observe was driven out of the room with shouts of abuse.

Newman has only one answer to anyone who dares organise for a way forward from unemployment and poverty, police racism and harassment. It is there in his Public Order Review, his version of the events of 6 October, and it boils down to a list of weapons. He wants baton rounds (plastic bullets), CS gas, long truncheons, armoured cars and more firearms.

What we learn from these two reports is that the British state is planning to protect itself against the people who are organising for their future and their democratic rights. We must continue to support those in struggle against the state, for it is among such people that there is the power to grow and defy the police state that the Metropolitan Police are preparing for the future.

Susan Davidson and Ken Hughes

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign mounted a militant 350 strong picket of Tottenham police station on 8 July. The picket was called to protest at police harassment on the estate and to hand in a letter from the campaign demanding that charges be brought against the police for the killing of Cynthia Jarrett.

Despite police provocation and the presence of plain clothes police on the picket, we refused to be intimidated and there were no arrests. Chants of Release the prisoners of the uprising - drop the charges now!, speeches and singing were kept up throughout the picket.

Stafford Scott, speaking for the BWFDC, stated that 'Black people are not the problem; the police are the problem'. Dolly Kiffin also spoke, and Patrick Jarrett addressed us from the top of the police station steps with uniformed police looking over his shoulder. Patrick called for a big demonstration outside the Old Bailey when the Broadwater Farm defendants appear.

The spirit of the picket was summed up in Ken Hughes' message of solidarity from the RCG: '... The people of Tottenham have shown today they remember the death of one of their mothers and will no longer tolerate the racist murderous tactics of the British police.'

Ainné Fury



PAUL MATTISON/FRANCE

Smash police frame-ups

At a public meeting in Chapeltown Community Centre in Leeds on 6 July young and old spoke of growing police harassment and arrests. Flats and houses have been raided by riot clad police. People have been arrested and remanded in custody for months. The message of the meeting was clear - people had to come together and organise and fight for their rights.

The John Grant and Derrick Jeffers Defence Campaign issued the following statement before their meeting: Parents and youth on the move against police frame up and injustice! John Grant's and Derrick Jeffers' cases are not isolated from the daily experience shared by black youths and their

families of the police. On Wednesday 26 March 1986 both youths were sitting in John Grant's home. They heard that four white men had entered Derrick's brother's house, so they ran there. No-one was at home and they asked the white men to leave. After a short struggle all went outside and the situation calmed down. One white man

Kenneth Newman's Boot Boys

In 1984, a young black man was arrested and accused of possessing drugs. He was found not guilty and awarded £200 damages for assault by the arresting officer, one PC Mark Bergmansk; £1,000 exemplary damages were awarded against the Metropolitan police.

Last month, another young black man who was convicted on PC Bergmansk's evidence had his conviction quashed. Judge Lord Justice Lawton stated that Bergmansk's evidence was 'tainted'.

On 30 June, an 18 year old black youth, Trevor Small, had a charge of 'allowing himself to be carried in a stolen vehicle' dropped. The arresting officer was none other than Mark Bergmansk. Trevor Small's defending solicitor, David Wolchover, said 'It is very odd and disturbing that such an officer can still be allowed to remain in the force.' Lord Justice Lawton confessed to being 'mystified'.

Charine James

Smash racist immigration controls

Kinnock's recent promise (see FRFI 60) that a Labour government would repeal the British Nationality Act and the 1971 Immigration Act has come under fire from the racist Home Office Minister, David Waddington. Waddington, addressing a Tory Party meeting, expressed fears that Kinnock's proposals would, in reality, enable over 15,000 people to be admitted to Britain each year. Naturally, Waddington was only referring to black people.

Waddington claimed that the implications of Kinnock's proposals were in stark contradiction to a statement made by the Shadow Home Secretary Gerald Kaufman, claiming that these changes would lead to an increase in immigration of no more than 1,000 per year. Thus Waddington concluded that 'on the one hand' Labour are seeking to lead black people in Britain into believing that Labour would 'relax' immigration laws and, on the other, are seeking to reassure racists that their proposals will have little practical effect.

Well, congratulations to Waddington for exposing the hypocrisy behind Labour's pronouncements. The Labour Party have not changed since their original orchestration of Britain's racist immigration controls, which they followed up with various piecemeal and cosmetic Race Relations Acts, supposedly intended to improve things for those 'immigrants' lucky enough to gain entry into Britain. This devious formula of passing anti-black laws whenever they have been potential vote-grabbers, whilst subsequently implementing other Acts to 'help' the victims of those very laws has been an integral part of Labour's policy.

Waddington can rest assured. The fact is that Kinnock, like Thatcher, desires no fundamental changes in, let alone the scrapping of, Britain's racist immigration controls. Ultimately they both want to maintain that very racism which is essential to imperialism.

Julia Osei-Tutu

walked to a car and got a radio out. The youths realised they were dealing with the police and walked away. When absent their homes were raided. Grant and Jeffers went to the police station to clear their names.

J Grant was charged with common assault and Jeffers with grievous bodily harm. Both maintain their innocence. Grant was released and Jeffers is remanded to Armley Gaol.

Black working class youths like D Jeffers live in prison for months on end, locked up 23 hours a day and have not been found guilty. Prison Officers leader J Bartell describes it as a system in which there is overcrowding and an un-civilised quality of life.

The principle of innocent until proven guilty is not being upheld. If justice was done then they too, (like Inspector Lovelock who shot Brixton's Cherry Groce in the back), would get bail.

FRFI sends its greetings to the Campaign and pledges its support.

Chas Millington

Thatcher wins more time for apartheid

The EEC summit on 27 June was widely expected to adopt limited sanctions against South Africa, with the British government finally conceding to widespread international pressure brought about by Botha's latest wave of terror. In the event, Margaret Thatcher, yet again, pulled off a diplomatic swindle which staved off any decision-making for another three months. Meanwhile President Botha can carry on the task at hand – smashing black organisations in South Africa.

This is not the first time that Thatcher has managed to win time for Botha. Last October Thatcher was instrumental in delaying the Commonwealth Heads of State from deciding about sanctions. As a result of the Commonwealth Summit, the Eminent Persons Group spent months finding facts and negotiating. Their final report concludes that the regime will have to be forced to the negotiating table. The EPG visit to South Africa ended when Botha launched bombing raids on three black Commonwealth nations – Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana.

Anxious to give Botha another crack of the whip, Thatcher 'persuaded' the EEC, with the help of two other major investors in apartheid – West Germany and France, to send another fruitless mission to South Africa in the shape of Sir Geoffrey Howe. Having consigned the EPG report to the wastepaper bin, Thatcher clearly hoped that Howe



Margaret Thatcher

would return with a different set of 'acceptable' facts. Howe's 'mission impossible' was already floundering before the plane took off. Winnie Mandela, Alan Boesak and Bishop Desmond

Tutu made it clear that they would not speak to Thatcher's emissary and that this latest delaying tactic was an insult to black people. The ANC condemned the proposed visit as a 'prescription for more violence' that would 'encourage the regime's intransigence and allow it to commit more crimes.'

In the middle of Howe's visit to Zambia for talks with President Kaunda, Thatcher gave an interview to the *Guardian* (9/7/86) which was surely meant to remind Howe of what kind of conclusion he should reach. In this extraordinary interview Thatcher declares many times, that economic sanctions are immoral, and most important of all that such sanctions would leave the Soviet Union sole control of the world's supply of crucial minerals. By the end of the interview she had announced that apartheid barely exists for many black people anyway – 'their only problem was that they couldn't live where they wanted and couldn't take a proper part in government' and that the main people fighting apartheid in South Africa were 'industry and certain political parties'. Thatcher delivered the final insult to black Commonwealth nations later in the week when she said it was a great pity that South Africa wasn't still a Commonwealth member.

There is only one further visit on the Howe schedule, and that is to see President Botha himself. This meeting at least should be straightforward as a meeting of like-minds. In August, Thatcher will meet with the Commonwealth Heads of State again in London. By this time it should be clear that Thatcher stands side by side with the apartheid regime – that is the real meaning of 'common-wealth'.

Dave Hunter and Carol Brickley

Labour Party on sanctions Bold promises – scab action

The debate on sanctions against South Africa has become the central issue for world leaders. At its centre, as expected, Mrs Thatcher is still playing for time to allow the apartheid regime to crush black resistance in South Africa. The Commonwealth is being torn apart over the issue, the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh is being boycotted by major black nations, and even the Queen's constitutional position (what constitution?) is threatened. At the root of this maelstrom is the division which is central to imperialism: on the one hand those who are the 'eternal parasites on the rest of mankind' are striving to ensure that the profits of apartheid continue: on the other hand the masses of South Africa and their allies are fighting to rid themselves of oppression.

There is nothing new under imperialism. In this epochal battle between oppressor and oppressed the different sides are lining up in a very familiar fashion. We all know which side Thatcher and Botha are on. We know which side the black masses are on, and as communists we place ourselves unconditionally as their allies. But what side is the British Labour Party on? In the course of the debate it is becoming clearer that they will not take any decisive action which will damage imperialist interests.

History is beginning to repeat itself. It is all very well to voice the most vehement opposition to apartheid – it is quite something else when action is needed to transform those words into a major defeat for imperialism. The Labour Party has faced this problem before and it has always chosen the side of the eternal parasites.

In 1963 Wilson stood on an Anti-Apartheid Movement demonstration platform to pledge support for the movement. One year later he was Prime Minister heading a government which sold black South Africans, Zimbabweans and Namibians down the river. Kinnock stood on an AAM demonstration platform in June 1985 – the first opposition leader to do so since Wilson – and pledged Labour Party support for the isolation of South Africa. In the last few weeks it has become clear that we will not have to wait for Kinnock to become Prime Minister before he reneges on his promises.

1964-70 bold action against apartheid?

'At last there exists in England today

a Government whose leaders have spoken frequently and boldly on the question of Apartheid. The way is wide open in Britain to initiate action which could destroy the very foundations of the Apartheid state.' (*Anti-Apartheid News*, January 1966)

That is how *Anti-Apartheid News* heralded the Wilson government. But four years later British trade with South Africa had trebled and a contract had been signed for 7,500 tons of uranium from the Rossing mine in Namibia. Even the arms embargo agreed in 1964 excluded all existing contracts and the Labour Party was quick to reassure the South Africans in 1968 that the continuation of the ban on arms sales shouldn't be taken too seriously:

'In 1967 we sent goods worth nearly £260 million to South Africa... Our investment in South Africa has been estimated to be of the order of £1,000 million by the Reserve Bank of South Africa... We are very conscious of the importance attached by South Africa to her exports to the UK... We have firmly resisted political pressure to terminate the preferential access enjoyed by South African products. Our concern to see this valuable trade develop and to avoid any economic confrontation with South Africa has been repeatedly made clear in Parliament and the UN.'

The pattern for 'bold action' against apartheid had been set: token 'action' and 'bold' reassurances to the apartheid regime stamped with the message *business as usual*.

It was over the issue of Rhodesia that Wilson revealed his true colours (pure white!) In a series of manoeuvres lasting four years, strikingly similar to the pose now adopted by Thatcher, Wilson attempted to compromise with Ian Smith and UDI at the expense of black Zimbabweans, and behind the backs of black commonwealth nations. Sanctions were introduced and bypassed. Promises of action were made and dishonoured. In all Wilson's grotesque appeasement policies delayed black majority rule by ten years. What Wilson promised to achieve in 'weeks not months' was in the end brought about by the guerilla war waged by the Patriotic Front and the Nigerian threat to nationalise British oil interests.

The battle over sanctions 1986

Following his appearance on the AAM platform in June 1985, Kinnock did not wait long before beginning to evade his pledge to isolate the apartheid regime. By October 1985 Kinnock was in favour of continued diplomatic links with apartheid. This could have been a small stumble on the road to a principled position. But, when it came to its first real test the Labour Party's position has begun to crumble from its rotten centre.

The sanctions debate began in the British House of Commons in June. Very quickly Roy Hattersley, deputy opposition leader began to talk of 'financial measures' against South Africa, a far cry from total sanctions. And of course Mrs Thatcher has been able to hark back to the rotten actions of the Wilson government every time she has been challenged in the Commons about her failure to impose sanctions by today's Labour Party. 'The situation has changed', they say in reply. But has it?

As black South African leaders declared their opposition to Howe's mission, who was busy arguing with President Kaunda of Zambia that he should see Howe and not split the Commonwealth? – Dennis Healey – Kinnock's missionary and spokesman for Foreign Affairs. Since October 1985, Kinnock has been busy behind the scenes conniving with Commonwealth leaders like

SANCTIONS NOW!



Black nations boycott Commonwealth Games

By Sunday 20 July 23 black nations had withdrawn from the Commonwealth Games in protest at the Thatcher government's campaign against sanctions. As we go to press, India became the latest country to join the boycott.

The action of the black Commonwealth nations has focussed intense international pressure on the Thatcher government. They are telling the world that to take part in these games is the same as taking part in the infamous 1936 Munich Olympics. Thatcher's government is being exposed for what it is: the world's staunchest supporter of the racist Botha regime.

Fortunately, the black Commonwealth nations are ignoring the Labour Party's miserable attempts to discourage the boycott and protect Thatcher against the anger of black people all over the world. Congratulations to all the countries who have withdrawn. Let us hope that some of England's athletes have enough conscience to join the boycott.

Terry O'Halloran

Budd banned

On 13 July, South African runner Zola Budd, and South African swimmer Annette Cowley, were declared ineligible to represent England in the Commonwealth Games. The welcome decision to bar these representatives of apartheid was taken in response to the growing boycott of the Games by black Commonwealth nations. Shamefully the Commonwealth Games Council for England are backing Budd's and Cowley's attempts to overturn the ban.

The banning of Budd and Cowley has nothing to do with any action by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. Ever since Budd was granted British citizenship in a record 10 days – whilst black people suffer years of harassment and heart-break to get citizenship – the AAM has refused to campaign against her. When black people in Liverpool disrupted a Budd race, they were condemned by the AAM. Elsewhere protests were organised, not by the AAM, but by City AA, FRFI and others who were not prepared to allow an apartheid runner to perform in Britain.

Terry O'Halloran

Bob Hughes MP, Chair of the AAM



PAUL MATTISON

Rajiv Gandhi that they should not threaten to split the Commonwealth over the issue of South Africa. In turn Gandhi was instrumental in delaying any decision over sanctions at the Commonwealth Summit in October 1985. That decision gave Thatcher and Botha another six months in which to crush black resistance in South Africa: to murder, torture and detain thousands of black South Africans.

Black Commonwealth nations knew that the writing was on the wall when Thatcher inveigled the EEC in June 1986 into delaying another 3 months before taking action. One by one major black states withdrew from the Commonwealth Games in protest. And what was the reaction of the Labour Party to this principled anti-Thatcher boycott – total support? No! In the *Scotsman* on 12 July, a letter was published calling for black commonwealth nations to reconsider: Thatcher and her actions are nothing to do with us, they said. 'You will be hurting your friends'. The letter was instigated by the Labour Party and was signed by amongst others, Campbell Christie, General Secretary of the STUC and no less than Bob Hughes MP, Chair of the AAM, and Brian Filling, secretary of the Scottish AAM!

So the Labour Party and CPGB response to the only concerted pressure on Thatcher to introduce sanctions is to call it off. This is abject self interest. Of course, a lot of money will be lost because the Commonwealth games are boycotted, but that is a small price to pay for freedom in South Africa.

It is critical to Labour Party strategy that apartheid is dismantled at the negotiating table, not by revolution which will put power in the hands of the masses. That is why Healey called on Kaunda to talk to Howe. That is why Kinnock favours the maintenance of diplomatic links with the regime. And that is why they don't want the black Commonwealth nations to force Thatcher's hand.

Readers of FRFI will remember that Bob Hughes, signatory to the abysmal *Scotsman* letter breaches official AAM policy 'debating' with apartheid. They will also remember that Hughes and Filling have been instrumental in attacks on FRFI and City AA.

In answer to the charge that black people will be hurt by sanctions Winnie Mandela gave a definitive reply on 14 July:

'We have appealed to governments who do care, who are not Pretoria's allies, to impose sanctions on our country. We know what we are talking about, we know we shall be the casualties of that kind of measure, we know of no other course that is still open to us, we know of no other peaceful door that is still left open for us.'

The black people of South Africa are willing to make the ultimate sacrifice for their freedom. When the Labour Party is asked to make a tiny sacrifice they squeal like stuck pigs – not us! not us! continued on page 10

Britain's stake in apartheid

Towards the end of May, President Kaunda of Zambia accused Mrs Thatcher of 'not being truthful' after yet another speech giving her reasons for opposing economic sanctions against South Africa. Diplomatically he was calling her a liar. Thatcher has put forward two sham arguments against sanctions. The first is that they would harm the very people they were meant to support — the black people of South Africa. The second is that they would not work. President Kaunda's reply to Thatcher's hypocrisy was short and to the point: 'Her real reason for objecting to sanctions is to defend British interests.' And he added 'those interests of hers will go up in flames.'

Britain's stake in apartheid is enormous. It is also very profitable. Britain is the main backer of the South African racist regime. British investment is in the region of £10-12bn, of which £4-5bn is direct investment, the rest being portfolio investment (shares) and bank loans. Together this accounts for up to 45 per cent of all foreign investment in South Africa. Britain is also South Africa's third largest trading partner and exports more than £1bn to South Africa each year. Between 7 and 10 per cent of Britain's total foreign invest-

ment goes to South Africa and some 400 British companies quoted on the stock exchange have one or more South African subsidiaries. South Africa is Britain's 12th largest export market.

Cheap labour for Britain

Before the present crisis began, British companies earned an average rate of profit of some 21 per cent from their investments in apartheid, nearly 3 times that of the average return on investments in Britain. All the major British

companies are involved. Most of them pay their black workers wages below the minimum target set by the European Commission. According to the Ethical Investment Research and Information Service at least 15 per cent and possibly as many as 65 per cent of the black workers in 135 British companies were paid significantly below the EEC target for minimum pay in the year to 30 June 1985. 75 per cent of the 135 companies paid minimum rates significantly below the EEC target and 40 companies paid rates below the subsistence levels defined by South African research institutes for a black worker and family. Minimum pay should have been R525 per month to meet the EEC target in June 1985. However most of the 135 companies paid a minimum rate below R380. Little wonder that British companies make such enormous profit from their investment in South Africa.

Gold Fields of South Africa (GfSA) is effectively part of the British mining investment group, Consolidated Gold Fields. It contributes about half of Consolidated Gold Fields profits which in 1984 were £105m. It has the lowest gold production costs in South Africa (\$111 an ounce), yet pays the industry's lowest wages with a machine operator earning R300 per month in 1984 compared to the industry average of R358. A white skilled worker earns five times as much. GfSA was one of the three mine companies which refused to settle with the South African NUM during the pay dispute in September last year, when the police and private security guards were turned on the striking miners.

British trade with racism

Britain's engineering industry is very dependent on its trade with South Africa. Nearly half of British exports to South Africa consist of specialist machinery and transport equipment. This amounts to nearly £500m of manufactured goods each year. The chemical industries come next with exports of over £200m a year. GEC which has huge power equipment contracts with South

Africa, ICL, the British computer group, and the ICI chemical combine all have a big profitable stake in apartheid. The oil multinationals BP and Shell control 40 per cent of oil sales in South Africa.

Barclays National and STANBIC, subsidiaries of Barclays Bank and Standard Chartered Bank respectively, control over 50 per cent of the banking sector in South Africa. Together with the British merchant bank Hill Samuel they are the major lenders for South Africa's capital investment programme

THE THATCHER FAMILY'S CONCERN

'Charity begins at home', is a Victorian value that Mrs Thatcher both preaches and practises. Her charitable concern with the fate of the Botha regime is not without a firm foundation rooted in the interests of the Thatcher household. Husband Denis is the director of five companies, two of these are branches of the Burmah Oil combine. Burmah Oil, headquartered in Swindon Wiltshire, operates 37 subsidiaries in South Africa. Twenty-five of these are run by the Quinton Hazell plc, branch of Burmah Oil (headquarters Royal Leamington Spa). Utterly coincidentally, Denis Thatcher happens to be a director of Quinton Hazell, and is, no doubt like Margaret, looking forward to the next dividend from apartheid to furnish their family fortunes.

Trevor Rayne in power, energy, transport, communications and the military. British banks had claims on South Africa of \$5.6bn at the end of 1984. That fell to \$4.5bn by the end of 1985 as a result of the dramatic fall in the rand and the banks slowing down their lending in the face of the growing political and economic crisis in South Africa.

Invisible earnings from South Africa — shipping insurance, profits, banking interest etc — are in the region of £1.9bn a year (1984). Most of it consists of payments of interest, profits and dividends. These earnings are a significant

contribution to the British balance of payments.

Racist cash for the Tories

Thatcher has certainly got British interests to defend in South Africa. Indeed, her husband Denis Thatcher is a director of Burmah Oil which has a sizeable stake in apartheid. The biggest British companies with assets in South Africa are opposed to sanctions and a spokesman for a specially created British Industry Committee on South Africa recently said few British firms would be prepared to pull out of South Africa voluntarily. Over 70 Tory MPs are directors, 'consultants' or have some interest in companies with a financial stake in apartheid. Last year a Labour MEP, David Martin, accused the government of failing to impose sanctions because 47 per cent of the Tory Party's donations came from companies with business interests in South Africa. Over 80 such companies are listed as contributing £1m to Tory funds; 30 per cent of all political donations.

The present political and economic crisis of the South African racist state is wholly due to the resistance of black people. It is that resistance which has undermined the ability of South Africa to guarantee the flow of profits for investors. And it is that resistance which will finally overthrow the apartheid state. In this context, sanctions will help to further isolate and undermine the apartheid regime by cutting off any major support from international finance and business, create further divisions in the white ruling class and represent an act of solidarity with the black people who are in the process of destroying the apartheid regime.

Fifty US companies have pulled out of South Africa since the beginning of 1985, 12 so far this year. 29 of the 105 largest US banks have banned new loans to either private or government borrowers in South Africa, up from 3 banks 2 years ago. 55 US banks now ban loans to the South African government, up from 26 in 1984. In 1985 no US company started or acquired operations in South Africa. Total direct US investment in South Africa has halved from a peak of \$2.6bn in 1981 to \$1.3bn at the end of 1985. While these developments are primarily due to the continuing slump in the South African economy and the political risk to US profits as black resistance destabilises the apartheid regime, they also express the increasing effectiveness of the pressure to isolate South Africa exerted by anti-apartheid forces led by black people in the US.

Britain, the US and West Germany, South Africa's main imperialist back-



The price of Namibian uranium

British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) continues to import Namibian uranium for processing and re-export. This is in contravention of UN Decree No 1 stating that the exploitation of Namibian resources is illegal. Anyone who does is in breach of international law. Britain has been flouting this law for over 12 years!

The first contract, signed in 1968 between a Labour government and Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) who own 50% of the Rossing mine, was for 6,000 tonnes of Namibian uranium. This was later increased to 7,500 with a second contract. The British government claimed they were misled by RTZ about the source of the uranium. However uranium continued to be supplied from the Rossing mine and no action was taken to cancel the contract. In 1975 James Callaghan, then Foreign Secretary, even went as far as claiming that SWAPO did not object to the contract being continued. This was an outrageous lie: SWAPO has always been strongly opposed to the contracts for Namibian uranium. SWAPO reasserted this position in 1980 stating,

'SWAPO of Namibia as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people regards the exploitation of Namibian uranium as theft...'

A third contract was signed in 1975 for a further 1,100 tonnes of Namibian uranium.

Britain now has a stockpile of uranium that is estimated as up to 10,000 tonnes. The majority of this is either Canadian or Namibian. Britain also has contracts through the URENCO consortium to process Namibian uranium for other countries.

When asked whether Namibian uranium was being used for the Trident programme Michael Heseltine refused to answer the question 'as such information was classified for defence security'. However the amount of uranium required for Trident is anything between 600 to several thousand tons. The US, Australia and Canada all have conditions of non military use for their exported uranium. Considering the source of the British uranium stockpile it would seem that Namibian uranium is either being used from the stockpile or from a new 'secret' source, both as fuel and for weapons. When the fleet is fully operational, Trident will carry an explosive power equivalent to 7,200 Hiroshima bombs, with an estimated cost of between £8,729m and £30,000m.

While RTZ, the apartheid regime and the British government continue to profit from the plunder of Namibia's resources, the Namibian people continue to suffer from the illegal occupation of their country and the effects of uranium mining. Both the living and working conditions of black workers at the Rossing mine are abysmal. The workers have little or no protection when mining the uranium. They are not supplied with any protective clothing or breathing apparatus. The living areas for black workers are located within the mine site, massively overcrowded and are down wind of the mine. This means that the dust from the tailings (waste) blows into the living areas. About 80,000 tonnes of waste is produced each day. This is pumped into a nearby dam or is just dumped. The radioactivity which is 90% of the original then seeps into the local water supply and is blown over the surrounding country contaminating it.

Medical care is practically non-existent for black miners. There are no medical checks and there are no clinic or hospital facilities available. Cancer is extremely prevalent in Namibia generally and specifically among uranium miners, as is TB and silicosis. It is known in the USA that 1 in 6 uranium miners will develop lung cancer from their working conditions. Without protection or medical care the number in Namibia must be much higher.

The British government and RTZ are concerned only with making big profits. South Africa has over 100,000 troops illegally occupying Namibia and this is propped up by finance from Barclays and Standard Chartered Banks, the export from Britain of military equip-



ment such as radar, fuel and vehicles and by taxes paid to Pretoria by British companies operating in South Africa and Namibia. RTZ paid over R30m/£15m in tax in 1984.

Britain has recently reaffirmed its support for apartheid and the continued oppression of black people in South Africa and Namibia by refusing to impose sanctions. If sanctions were imposed Britain would lose the massive profits it makes and in particular would lose its secret supply of Namibian uranium.

Nomsa Langa

South African workers call for support

Cyril Ramaphosa and James Motlatse, the General Secretary and the President of the South African NUM, the largest of COSATU's affiliated unions, came to Britain to appeal for support for their struggle from British workers. When the two went in to meet Norman Willis of the British TUC, the Non Stop Picket organised a welcoming reception for them at the door of the TUC. City AA Treasurer, Tony Cuffie, presented them with a cheque for £500 as an expression of support. FRFI comrades made a gift of copies of our newspaper, our book on the British miners strike *Miners Strike 84-85 People versus State*, and our pamphlet *South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid! Apartheid out of Britain!*

The two South African workers leaders broke the State of Emergency regulations and called for sanctions against apartheid. They said emphatically that if the British government was not prepared to impose sanctions, then British workers should impose their own.

But at a press conference which followed the meeting at the TUC, Willis avoided committing the TUC to the defence of trade unionists who break the law in support of their fellow trade unionists in South Africa.

The British TUC's response has been characteristically craven and timewasting. Instead of responding in the only

ers, all refuse to impose comprehensive sanctions against the racist apartheid regime. Britain, however, now stands out as the major political and economic force opposed to sanctions. Britain has an ineffective anti-apartheid movement whose leadership consciously holds back mass involvement, especially of black people, in the struggle against apartheid. A mass militant movement in this country could have long ago broken down the Tories' resistance to economic sanctions.

The argument by Thatcher that sanctions cannot be effective is patent nonsense. The withdrawal of credit lines by a few major US banks created an immediate financial crisis in South Africa in August last year. A financial boycott by the banks, a refusal to renegotiate the massive \$22bn South African debt could bring the South African economy to its knees.

Eight years ago coal from South Africa took up 4 per cent of the world market. Today it is over 25 per cent. An EEC boycott of South African coal would seriously hit one of South Africa's fastest growing export industries. Foreign trade accounts for between 55 and 60 per cent of the GDP of South Africa with imports at R21.7bn and exports R25.4bn. A trade embargo would obviously have a dramatic effect on the South African economy.

Direct investment by foreign companies amounts to about 10 per cent of all investment in South Africa, and foreign holdings of South African shares

new investment. The South African economy is in serious trouble. Fixed investment has dropped every year for the last 5 years. In the first quarter of this year GDP fell by 1.2 per cent. Economic sanctions now would be a significant factor in delivering the final blow to the apartheid regime.

A recent survey in South Africa showed that 73 per cent of urban black South Africans favoured either conditional or total disinvestment by foreign companies as a way to help end apartheid. Most black people are prepared to accept further unemployment and hardship resulting from sanctions in the interests of finally destroying the apartheid regime. The survey however pointed out that the ratio of whites to blacks employed in foreign companies is 1:2, much higher than the ratio in South African owned companies. It is 1:1 in high technology US companies. So the effect of a pull-out by foreign companies would have an impact on white as well as black workers. Other research confirms this and argues that black unemployment would increase from 25 to 26 per cent (a 4 per cent increase) while white unemployment would rise from 5 to 8 per cent (a rise of 60 per cent). Official figures for black unemployment are, of course, serious underestimates, nevertheless, what is clear is that sanctions would have a significant effect on the prosperity of whites in South Africa. No doubt that is another reason why Thatcher and Reagan oppose sanctions.



Mandela's 68th birthday celebrated at the Embassy.

account for another 20 per cent. Last year R10.3bn flowed out of South Africa, inspite of the two-tier rand levels, as international investors took out more in interest, profits and dividends than they are putting back in

acceptable way to this call from the fighting workers of South Africa — by launching an immediate call for action by British trade unionists — they have announced a 'fact-finding mission' to South Africa. They have had the facts for a long time. The General Council of the TUC meets on 23 July to discuss the report from South Africa — the Non Stop Picket is supporting a lobby of the meeting which has been called by trade unionists and others who do want to see real action against apartheid.

National Carriers — Apartheid Carriers

At least one British worker took the call from South Africa for solidarity seriously. Andy Boyne, a driver, who supports the Non Stop Picket lost his job with National Carriers for refusing to carry South African goods. Andy told FRFI: 'I worked for National Carriers for 18 months. Two weeks ago, I went to work and was ordered to take a lorry full of crates of South African produce to Plymouth port and I told them that I would not drive them anywhere because I don't agree with apartheid. My boss, who's called Kitchener, said 'What you supporting black people for?' and I told him that I believe South Africa should not be ruled by white men as the black man has not rights there in his own land, he can't even vote. I told my boss I was especially upset by the State of Emergency. So he said 'You've lost your job'. I was in the TGWU at the time but I didn't fight the case as I had had experience of real racists in that union anyway.'

David Reed

If we are to stop blocking the path to their liberation, the British people must start to build a real anti-apartheid movement, which has as its first major task a mass campaign, involving all sections of British people, to impose total economic sanctions on South Africa and isolate the racist apartheid regime.

'Britain is the only country that is blocking, that is standing between us and our total liberation.'

Thatcher is opposed to sanctions because she is concerned to defend British interests, as well as the white racists, in South Africa. Other Tories, the Labour Party, TUC and Liberal Party as well as the leadership of the AAM, are for sanctions as the last possibility to stave off the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid state and the capitalist system in South Africa. South African businessmen like Gavin Relly, chair of Anglo-American, oppose effective sanctions because 'they will guarantee that in the long run we have revolution'. They want Botha to implement wide-ranging political and economic reforms as the only means of ensuring the survival of the capitalist system in South Africa. Their reforms stop short of black majority rule. All these forces have something in common. They are determined to see that South Africa, with or without black majority rule, remains a continuing source of profits for international capitalism.

The RCG supports sanctions unconditionally because they will swing the balance in favour of the black people of South Africa. For the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid regime is the only way to guarantee peace, democracy and freedom for all South Africans. In July this year, Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary of the South African NUM told the British NUM conference:

SUPPORT THE NON-STOP PICKET!

The Non Stop Picket has continued day and night outside the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square since 19 April. It remains the only consistent public protest against apartheid in London, calling, at this crucial time for the liberation struggle in South Africa, for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners, and for the closure of the South African Embassy.

Since it started the picket has distributed thousands and thousands of leaflets, collected more than 100,000 petition signatures which were handed into Downing Street on Mandela's birthday, and mobilised thousands of people to mass pickets for the Soweto Anniversary, Freedom Day, 28 June AAM demonstration and on 18 July, Mandela's birthday. You can join the Non Stop Picket any day, any time and take action against apartheid.

100 Days for Mandela

Sunday 27 July will be the 100th day of the Non Stop Picket. All those who have supported the picket during those 100 days and many new people are expected to come down and mark this anniversary in the best possible way — by showing our determination to stay there until Mandela and the people are free! The 100th day must be the occasion when an even higher level of support is reached. Mandela is still in prison, the people of South Africa face daily persecution and murder on an unprecedented scale — yet their determination and resistance grows. Ours must grow to match it. Be there on Sunday 27 July to pledge your opposition to apartheid.

Mandela's birthday on the Non Stop Picket

Mandela's birthday on the Non Stop Picket was made a real cause for celebration as news of more black Commonwealth nations pulling out of the Commonwealth Games came through. The picket was jubilant at this challenge to Thatcher's racist support for apartheid. Before the laying of flowers and decking of the embassy gates with hundreds of cards for Mandela, Carol Brickley, City AA's Convenor, made it clear that the picket's existence was crucial to defining real solidarity in Britain:

'Now is the crucial time for the black masses in South Africa who are forging their way forward, certain that they will be free. They are not prepared to accept compromise... We too are not prepared to accept compromise, we say that now is the time to act... But you know, we are surrounded by people who do want to compromise, who say that now is not the time to push forward to freedom...'

The picket applauded as Carol condemned the Chair of the AAM Bob Hughes, MP, for calling on black Commonwealth nations to back down from their stance. David Kitson, who received a warm welcome from the hundreds of picketers, recalled for us the passing of birthdays and other celebrations in his years in apartheid prisons: how the prisoners would take it in turns to make speeches, read poems, and how small 'treats' of biscuits and 'bizarre concoctions' would be offered and eaten. He went on to pay tribute to Mandela, as an underground leader in the '60s building the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe, and as a present great leader of the people of South Africa.

Predictably, the British police chose Mandela's birthday to attack the picket in a petty and vicious fashion. As the picketers moved forward in single file to tie on the hundreds of cards for Mandela, they moved in to block the way, arresting six women. Despite their harassment the picket carried on singing and chanting to the early hours of the morning. Maggie Mellon

Court dates

Please support picketers who have been arrested and charged by the police
31 July 2pm Bow Street: Lorna charged with highway obstruction
1 Aug 2pm Horseferry Rd: Amanda, Amanda, Satish — various charges
4 Aug 10am Bow Street: Carol, Norma, Lionel and others charged with illegal collection
5 Aug 10am Bow Street: Ann charged with highway obstruction



Racist police attack the picket

Ever since the beginning of the Non Stop Picket the police have engaged in a war of attrition designed to destroy the picket. Police harassment has ranged from petty restrictions through racist and sexist abuse to violent and arbitrary arrest. The policing of the picket exactly matches the Thatcher government's stance on South Africa: steadfastly supporting the Botha regime whilst pretending to oppose apartheid. Just so the police are attacking the picket by every means possible short, so far, of an outright ban.

Collections and petitions

Before the picket the police agreed to allow up to eight petitioners at any one time. Within days of the picket beginning they reneged on this: sometimes only 2 or 3 were allowed, sometimes none. Petitioning, which had been done openly at City AA events for four years, was suddenly 'illegal'. 6 people have received summonses for 'illegally collecting'; 3 others were illegally arrested for this non-arrestable 'offence'. The 2 cases so far heard have ended in acquittals.

Obstruction of the highway

Of the 47 arrests to date, a large number have been for 'obstruction of the highway': a favourite charge for harassing demonstrations. The picket began in a 'pen' of barriers constructed by the police. The police then used the barriers' position as an excuse for arresting people for obstruction. On 2 May the barriers at either end were removed in order to bolster charges of obstruction. That day 2 picketers were arrested with considerable violence by 20 officers from 4 DSUs. Two weeks later the charges against them were dropped.

Abuse

In an effort to provoke incidents which would justify further restrictions on the picket, racist and sexist officers are allowed to abuse picketers almost daily. Women picketers are habitually called 'slags', 'sluts', 'whores'. Black picketers are 'wogs', 'stinking wogs', 'coons', 'brutes'. Gay men are 'poofs' and certain officers, such as PC A472, blow kisses at them. Picketers in general are 'smelly rubbish'. On 8 July A472 and PC A64/46 (he has the number 64 on one lapel and 46 on the other) greeted the picket with the words 'Viva the shits of society'.

Assault and battery

The single worst police attack occurred on Friday 13 June, on the second day of the state of emergency in South Africa, when police officers violently arrested 13 picketers: black comrade Kayode was punched and kicked on the head and body; his sister Tinuke was so badly manhandled that she suffered a bronchial spasm and had to be rushed to hospital; black comrade Mervyn had his arms repeatedly scratched leaving 10" long scores (see FRFI 60). Black South African, Linda Mjebe, was called a 'stinking wog'. 16 June, Amanda Kitson was dragged along the ground, her dress ripped open, her head banged on the pavement. She suffered a wrenched shoulder, bruised arms and bruised legs. 19 June a black man who tried to enter the 'public' embassy was violently arrested as were 5 others who went to his aid. 24 June black comrade Sonya was pushed whilst officers stood on her toes. She was arrested and charged with assault.

Censorship

The police have lately started trying to silence the picket, literally, by banning the use of a megaphone from 9pm to 8am on the grounds that it is causing noise pollution. They claim to have found a resident who can hear the megaphone above the roar of traffic and the, frequent, wail of police sirens. On 16 June the press were cleared away from the picket and one journalist arrested for opposing such police censorship. On 17 July a BBC camera crew were told that they could only film the picket from across the road or behind barriers.

The worst individual officers have formed themselves into what they call the 'South Africa House Squad', but it is senior police who have decided to allow racists, thugs and mentally disturbed officers to police the picket. The aim is clear: to confine, isolate and slowly destroy the picket by an endless round of harassment and arrests. We are determined, however, that, far from being confined or isolated, this picket will become the focus of an effective people's movement against British collaboration with apartheid — including police collaboration

Terry O'Halloran/Nicki Rensten



continued from page 1

The savagery of these measures has far from crushed the people's resistance. Thousands of activists have gone into hiding to evade detention, maintaining the resistance movement underground. The experiences of the last State of Emergency are being used to overcome the restrictions, and a vast underground network is being developed out of the organisation of the Street and Action Committees. It is this which has enabled a rent boycott to be organised in Soweto, involving two-thirds of its residents. Many households have already had their water and electricity supply cut off and eviction orders issued.

The consumer boycott in Port Elizabeth is still strong, even though boycott leaders like Mkhoseli Jack have been forced into hiding. In protest at the detentions of union members and officials, strikes have been organised throughout the country. The retail industry has been one of the hardest hit, with over 100 stores hit by strikes and occupations organised by thousands of members of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (CCAUSA) to demand the release of their union leaders. Many shops of the major chain stores (including Woolworths) have been forced to close.

Militant action by gold and diamond miners forced the closure of several key mines during the month. On 4 July over 2,000 striking black miners forced the closure of four De Beers diamond mines in Kimberley, Northern Cape. 8,000 gold miners are estimated to have been involved in the go-slow at the Anglo-American Free State Consolidated mine which closed down two shafts. On 14 July students boycotted the return to school.

At the same time, the racists are feeling the power of Umkhonto we Sizwe not only in the rural border areas but in the heart of the citadels of white power. Over the past month thirteen bombs have exploded in city centres. The hand grenade attacks on security forces and apartheid administrators have intensified. On 5 July five officials of the East Rand Development Board were shot dead in the black townships of Vosloorus and Kathlehong, east of Johannesburg, by a unit of MK armed with AK47s. In the Winterveld squatter camp in Bophuthatswana 'homeland' the people celebrated the assassination of Brigadier Molope – responsible for the massacre there on 26 March 1986.

The declaration of a national State of Emergency represents the final, desperate measures of a dying breed of racists. The fighting people of South Africa can and will defeat them.

Ruby Khan

Non Stop Picket on Video!

FRFI has produced a video in support of the Non Stop Picket – 18 mins long it is an excellent promotion of the Non Stop Picket interspersing shots of the demonstration on 19 April with interviews, with Non Stop Picketers, Carol Brickley, Convenor of City AA and David Reed of FRFI, liberation songs from South Africa sung by City AA singers, and film of the mass demonstrations in South Africa itself.

It can be hired from FRFI for £5 plus postage. Phone: 01-837 1688 or write to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. Hire it to build local meetings in support of the Non Stop Picket, to show at trade union meetings, in youth clubs, campaign meetings. Just make sure you see it!

COSATU

new weapon against apartheid

Within 8 months of COSATU's formation, having accomplished on 1 May and 16 June the two biggest national strikes in South African history, with an estimated 1,500 members detained, with thousands already taking strike action and the prospect of a general stoppage against the State of Emergency, COSATU has already left an indelible mark.

General Secretary, Jay Naidoo, makes the point that COSATU is engaged in the general democratic struggle, both as an independent organisation of the working class and an essential component of the democratic forces.

'It is clear that in the specific conditions of our country it is inconceivable that political emancipation can be separated from economic emancipation.'

This political conception of the role of COSATU is central. The political power of the white minority must be broken before the basic economic needs of the working class can be satisfied. COSATU does not pursue a 'pure' class struggle separate from the struggle for political emancipation. Jay Naidoo makes clear:

'COSATU is forging closer ties with democratic community-based organisations. In particular we have a high regard for those communities which are building strong grassroots structures in the form of street committees. We see this as a major step forward and an important principle that is integral to working class organisation on the factory floor.'

Congress resolutions

The inaugural congress resolved a series of important policy issues, pledging COSATU to lead the fight for democracy for all sections of the oppressed.

Migrant labour:

'To call for a national strike should the apartheid regime carry out its threat to repatriate any migrant workers.'

Unemployment:

'...under capitalist conditions of exploitation unemployment is a reality facing every worker at all times. ... To establish a national unemployed workers' union as a full affiliate ...'

Women:

'... women workers experience both exploitation as workers and oppression as women and that black women are further discriminated against on the basis of race ...'

Federalism:

'...reaffirm our belief in a unitary state based on one person, one vote.'

Disinvestment:

'... believes that all forms of international pressure on the South African government – including disinvestment or the threat of disinvestment – is an essential and effective form of pressure on the South African regime and we support it.'

Two traditions

The meeting of 930 delegates from 33 unions representing half a million workers came after 4 years of painstaking discussions. The formation of COSATU represents the synthesis of two traditions of trade union struggle under intense pressure for unity from the mass of the workers themselves.

The Congress tradition had been driven underground, into prison or exile by the state's repression of the ANC and SACTU in the 1960s. By the beginning of the 1980s this tradition had been revitalised in the emergence of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) and other general unions committed to linking community based struggles against oppression with trade union organisation. SAAWU, for instance, played a central role in the Ciskei Bus Boycott in 1983/4.



1 December 1985, Elijah Barayi, President of COSATU is carried shoulder high at a mass rally in Durban

A second tradition, stressing the need for workplace based union structures, had grown out of the strike wave that hit Durban in 1973. The new generation of independent trade unions experienced steady growth and two major groupings emerged – the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA). The leadership of FOSATU in particular held to the 'workerist' strictly trade union position of abstaining from the broader political struggle for democracy.

National Union of Mineworkers

Advocates of workplace oriented trade unionism point to the phenomenal growth of the National Union of Mineworkers which has won 180,000 members in 4 years. Taking advantage of the giant Anglo American Corporation's allowance of unionisation, CUSA deci-

ded to form the NUM in August 1982. Anglo American hoped for a moderate union through which it could maintain stable relations with the contract black miners. The NUM proceeded to recruit, taking part in wage negotiations, demanding safety improvements and increasingly challenging the colour bar in the mines. The NUM had to overcome the extreme vulnerability to repression of black mineworkers encamped in hostel compounds and the assiduous fostering of 'tribal' divisions by the employers. (Out of 463,007 black miners working in gold, platinum or copper mines on 31 July 1983 178,294 came from the nominally independent Bantustans, 192,731 from the Frontline States and only 90,627 from South Africa's remaining areas.)

By August 1985 the NUM had forced a split in the Chamber of Mines with Anglo American, JCI and Rand Mines conceding a 22% wage increase while British owned Gencor and Goldfields held to a lower rate and forced bloody battles killing 16 miners. Gencor's executive director Johan Fritz said the company had 'a shield against irresponsible action – a large reserve of unemployed'.

The company also had its own patented rubber bullets and armoured cars. It is clear to the NUM that if wages battles are to be won the apartheid system has to be smashed. By the summer of 1985 the NUM had withdrawn from CUSA and is now the backbone of the new federation.

COSATU: unifying force

The mass of the workers have experienced revolutionary struggles in the last 2 years. The coming together of student, youth, community and trade union organisations brought out 400,000 students and 800,000 workers in the hugely successful Transvaal stayaway on 5/6 November 1984. In Port Elizabeth the youth and community activists were in sharp debate with the local FOSATU leadership which opposed the stayaway tactic. In the event the workers joined the stayaway. FOSATU had to rethink.

At the funeral of Chemical Workers

Industrial Union organiser Andri Raditsela – killed in police detention FOSATU President Chris Dlamini proclaimed: 'Everyone is becoming involved in political issues outside the working place.' Martin Ndaba, a regional official added: 'Our demand for political rights for all South Africans shows a fundamental change in the FOSATU stance.' It was out of these experiences and trends that COSATU was born as a unifying force. As a federation, COSATU operates on the principles of workers' control, non-racism, one union per industry, representation according to paid up membership and national cooperation between affiliates.

COSATU's commitment to act on the central political issues was expressed in its demands for the 1986 May Day strike of 1.5m workers – unbanning of all banned organisations, release of political prisoners, dropping of treason charges, and the right to freedom of movement and decent housing.

There are trade union federations not affiliated with COSATU. CUSA (180,000) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (70,000) take issue with its non-racism principle, arguing that anti-racism requires an explicit confirmation of the role of black leadership.

COSATU's approach is not to claim that it is the sole authentic representative of the South African workers. Jay Naidoo says 'we see ourselves as an important weapon of the working class.'

The federation has worked in close cooperation with the United Democratic Front. COSATU's President Elijah Barayi is a former ANC political prisoner. COSATU has been accused of being a 'front of the ANC'. Jay Naidoo argues that it is a 'workers front':

'It is our right as COSATU to call for the unbanning of the ANC. Not only is this our right, but our duty and responsibility, reflecting correctly the aspirations of the workers themselves.'

The national liberation movement is an alliance of class forces with the working class entering that alliance from a specific class standpoint. When Naidoo met an ANC delegation in Harare in January he told them:

'We do not want superficial changes – black faces replacing white – where the repressive machinery of state and capital remains intact, used in the service of different masters.'

This point was developed further when Naidoo spoke in Natal in March:

'...we see ourselves expressing the interests of the workers in the struggle for our freedom. We see it as our duty to make sure that freedom does not merely change the skin colour of our oppressors.'

We are not fighting for freedom which sees the bulk of workers continuing to suffer as they do today. We therefore see it as our duty to promote working-class politics. A politics where workers' interests are paramount in the struggle.'

Jay Naidoo is now detained, but COSATU has already proven itself a mighty weapon in the hands of the workers fighting for an end to all oppression and exploitation.

Viva COSATU!
Andy Goddard

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Sanctions Now!

Amidst this jamboree of self interest, the visit of South African NUM leaders to Britain came like a breath of fresh air. They were in no doubt about where the blame lies and the action necessary:

“‘Britain is the only country that is blocking, that is standing between us and our total liberation.

“If Britain were to agree to the proposals to go along with sanctions, a lot of pressure would be put on the South African regime and apartheid would start to crumble.”

Though the British people were seen as fair, black people in South Africa looked at Britain with growing suspicion because of Mrs Thatcher's opposition to sanctions.

“It will continue to be so, because

we believe that the British people as a nation have done nothing to assist us in attaining our liberation. When we achieve our liberation, we will not forget what Mrs Thatcher is doing. We will not forget what Reagan is doing. We will always remember” (Financial Times)

Until the movement against apartheid is led by forces who will decisively take action against British collaboration with apartheid, we will continue to be led on demonstrations to pop festivals like the march on 28 June. The black masses of South Africa have a right to expect sacrifices from British people. The black masses of the Commonwealth nations have a right to the same. With the Labour Party at the head of the movement, there will be no break with imperialism.

Carol Brickley

SECOND EDITION!
with an update to June 1986

South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid Apartheid out of Britain

Carol Brickley, Terry O'Halloran, David Reed

With its new update, 'South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid, Apartheid out of Britain' examines the momentous developments in South Africa in their regional and international context. Apartheid's war against the Frontline States, the occupation of Namibia, the economic crisis in South Africa, the barbaric repression and the mass revolutionary resistance are all covered in this pamphlet and brought up to date.

The pamphlet details the enormous British stake in apartheid and explains the political and economic foundation for Thatcher's obstinate refusal to impose sanctions against apartheid. It also analyses and explains the

character of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement showing why, despite the critical situation in South Africa, it has failed to build an effective anti-apartheid movement in this country. Particularly it deals with the dispute between the AAM leadership and the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group which has been expelled from the AAM. In doing so it outlines the political pre-conditions for building a mass movement in Britain to break British collaboration with apartheid.

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Britain's racist prisons

In June the Home Office issued a statistical bulletin *The ethnic origins of prisoners*. Try as it might, this document cannot cover up the racism of the British judicial system. These official statistics confirm that British prisons are racist prisons.

According to Home Office categories, 'ethnic minorities' (black people) form approximately 6% of the general population, 12.5% of the male prison population and 17.2% of the female prison population. For Afro-Caribbean people the disproportion is even greater: 1% of the general population, 8% of the male prison population and 12% of the female prison population. Among remand prisoners the proportion from 'ethnic minorities' is higher still. 15% male adults; 16% male youths; 23% female prisoners adult and youth.

The proportion rises again for the long term prison population - 18% of adult male prisoners serving sentences of over four years are from 'ethnic minorities'.

A policy report published by the GLC Ethnic Minorities Unit (*Local Authorities and Penal Establishments: A Race Dimension*) gives some staggering figures: 40% of remand prisoners in local London jails are black; at Ashford remand centre 50% of the youths are black (unofficial figure 70%); 60% of youths in Stamford House (youth detention centre) are black; 31% of women in Holloway are black with 8-9 awaiting deportation at any one time; 40% of women in Cookham Wood are black; 1 in 15 women in Holloway is Asian; 20% of black youths in Southall have been imprisoned at some time in their lives.

Racist murders

Since 1980 at least four black people have been murdered by the prison system. Richard Campbell in March 1980 was the third black man to die at Ashford Remand Centre in seven years. He was a young rastafrican who went on



Richard Campbell murdered in Ashford

hunger strike to protest against the conditions and racism in Ashford and died after being force-fed, drugged and left to become dehydrated. The inquest jury returned a verdict of 'death by self-neglect'.

In May 1982 Paul Worrell, a young black man, was found hanged in Brixton prison on remand. A year later David McKay, a 38 year old black remand prisoner was also found hanged in his Brixton cell.

In May 1985, black prisoner Eusif Ryan was left to die in a shit-smeared cell in Wandsworth jail. The medication he needed to control his epilepsy had been denied by prison staff. A fellow prisoner gave evidence of the medical neglect and brutality Eusif suffered before dying. The inquest jury returned a verdict of 'cause of death unknown' (see FRFI 53).

Racist brutality

In 1976 black prisoner Steve Thompson was forcibly drugged while POs at Gartree cut his locks. Five days before his release in August 1979 he was sectioned under the Mental Health Act and sent indefinitely to Rampton prison hospital. The campaign to free him succeeded in March 1980.

Abbena Simba Tola, a 17 year old rastafrican woman was imprisoned in Holloway in 1981. Here she was given food made with animal fat which she could not eat; called by the slave name she had rejected; punished for refusing to wear shorts for gym and not allowed to wear a wrap around her head. She was in solitary confinement for most of her 16 month sentence and drugged with Largactyl and Depixol. On one occasion she was forcibly stripped, held across a table and injected in the buttocks in front of male POs.

Between January and July 1984 at least 4 black prisoners were severely beaten by POs in Wandsworth jail (see FRFI 42). Rifat Mehmet was beaten and thrown in a strong box. Keith James was beaten at least 8 times between February and July 1984 and on one occasion strangled until semi-conscious. Clive Cumberbatch, framed by police in 1982, had his head forced through a window by POs. Cyrus Noor was beaten and forcibly drugged with Modecate for protesting against the prison system.

Racist prison staff

Prison officers are racists. In some jails (eg Walton, Risley, Strangeways, Wandsworth, Pentonville, Wormwood Scrubs) 15-25% are National Front



NETWORK

members. The GLC report details racist comments written by POs about prisoners, eg '... typical YP (young prisoner) and black boy to boot ...', '... all the Asian traits, all smiles, eager to please and as dishonest as possible', 'arrogant coloured man'. POs in the NF wear union jack tiepins and the prison department says that they cannot be stopped from showing 'love for their country'. Before the prisoners' protest in Hull

tests against the British prison system. In Gartree in 1978 prisoners took over 3 wings in protest at the drugging of black prisoner Michael Blake. Irish POWs and black prisoners were the driving force in organising this protest. Black fists were frequently the first to salute the pickets of Brixton jail this year to stop the strip searching of two Irish women, Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson, on remand there.

Black people form approximately 6% of the general population, 12.5% of the male prison population and 17.2% of the female prison population

jail, 1976, NF prison staff went around chanting foul slogans, eg 'Don't be a cunt, join the National front', 'I am glad I'm not a nigger, hooray, hooray, I'm glad I'm not a nigger or a Paki or a Jew ...'

Not surprisingly, black prisoners are punished and lose remission more than white. In Camphill prison in 1983, 46% of black prisoners compared to 6% of white were put on report - and black prisoners constituted 25% of the prison population.

Black prisoners fight back

Over the last ten years black prisoners have been involved in major prison pro-

In Thatcher's Britain today, 95% of prisoners are jailed for offences against property - 2/3 of these for property worth less than £100. Not surprisingly, the most oppressed of the working class, black people, particularly black youth, the unemployed and women will be those most under attack from the crisis-ridden system.

And just as outside the jails black people will more and more take a lead in the organisation and fight back against oppression, so inside the jails black prisoners will be in the vanguard of resistance to prison brutality.

Auriel Fermo

Armley prison trial

On 19 November 1985 prison officers at Armley brutally attacked three prisoners in the remand wing. In Leeds Crown Court, in June, the prosecution claimed that the victims of the assault - Errol Jeffery, Carl Yung and Gary Williams - had attacked the prison officers.

As the case proceeded the truth became clear. The prison officers' story fell apart under cross-examination. PO Bambling admitted to concocting his account. Gary Williams was jumped on by prison officers who beat him and carried him off to the punishment block using a headlock which stopped his breathing. One PO, called Clarke, attacked him with a staff.

Back on the wing the prison officers who had pushed everyone back into the cells, dragged Errol Jeffery out. Errol, dazed and naked, was beaten. Carl Yung was attacked in his cell. Carl had been singled out for harassment ever since the start of his 27 month sentence.

He had lost every day of remission for 72 'infringements' of prison rules.

Both Carl Yung and Errol Jeffery, who has since been released after 7 months on remand, were acquitted. Gary Williams was convicted of assault and sentenced to 4 months in addition to 56 days loss of remission.

No action has been taken about prison officers committing perjury. No action has been taken about the fact that it took 4 months for Gary Williams' letter to West Yorkshire police asking for prison officers to be charged, to reach the police.

Chas Millington

Peterhead Censorship

In FRFI 59 we reported that the governor of Peterhead had suppressed our pamphlet *Scottish prisons - lift the lid* which was sent to Tom Moffat. Obviously not content with this act of censorship they are paying particular attention to our correspondence while on their information-gathering exercise. Though as Tom said 'I enjoyed your letter even if they didn't'.

And it's obvious that they have not been enjoying FRFI. They have decided that the article on the POA dispute in FRFI 59 was 'offensive and not factual'. When the governor said he would censor that article from the paper, Tom refused to allow it. So he did not receive that issue.

Tom has added this latest act of censorship to his application to ECHR. We urge readers to write letters of protest against the censorship of FRFI and the Scottish prison pamphlet to: The governor, HM Prison Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, AB4 6YY.

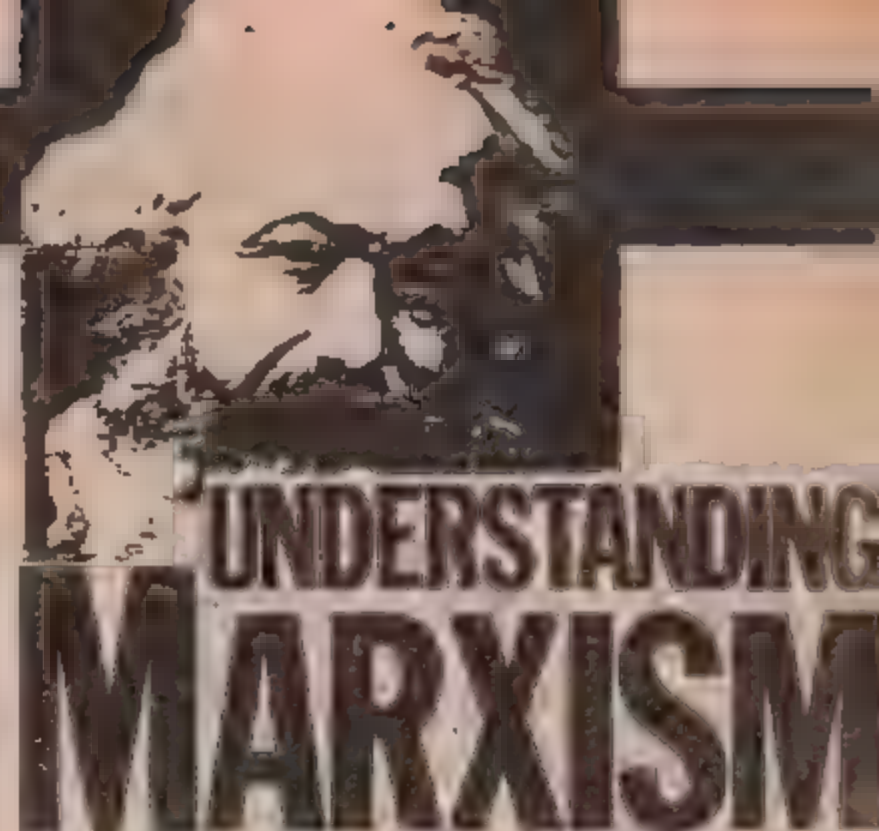
Rhian Jenkins

Deafening silence over Glenochil

Young prisoners at the notorious Glenochil Young Offenders Institution fought back last month against the regime. 76 cells were damaged in a series of protests. In the most serious single incident damage estimated at £16,000 was done to 70 cells. When Labour MP Martin O'Neill attempted to have conditions at the 'death camp' discussed in Parliament, he was told by the Speaker 'sorry no time'.

Inmates on 'dirty protest', three major protests in one week, sinks, wardrobes and beds torn apart, warders going about in full riot gear and, most worrying of all, an eerie official silence. Jimmy Boyle, who himself has suffered prison degradation and brutality, now has the added pain of his own son on 'dirty protest' in Glenochil. He angrily denounced the official silence: 'It's absolutely despicable. The Scottish Office have built their own wall of secrecy around this terrible place.'

Andy, Edinburgh



■ 5 The production of surplus value

How can the consumption of labour power create a value over and above its own value, that is, a surplus value? The crucial point here is that the value of labour power and the value which that labour power creates in the production process are entirely different magnitudes. What is vital to the capitalist is the specific use-value the commodity labour power possesses of being 'a source not only of value but of more value than it has itself'. How does this come about?

Certain historical conditions are necessary for the appearance in the market of this peculiar commodity labour power. The first is that the person, whose bodily strength the labour power is, is 'free' in legal terms, to offer it for sale as a commodity. It must be sold for a definite period of time. For if it were sold once and for all, the person would be selling his/herself and would be converted from a 'free' person into a slave, from the owner of a commodity into a commodity. That is, the commodity labour power could not be sold over and over again in the market. The second condition is that the owner of labour power must not own any means of production such as raw materials, implements of labour etc nor be able to sell the products of his/her labour. The only commodity the labourer has to sell is the capacity to labour or labour power. The labourer has to work to live, to sell his/her labour power over and over again.

The value of labour power, as of any commodity, is the amount of socially necessary labour time for its reproduction. This will be equal to the value of the means of subsistence, food, clothes, housing etc necessary for the maintenance of the labourer in a normal working state. As this maintenance will vary with the social, climatic and other physical conditions of the country concerned, the value of labour power will contain an 'historical and moral element'. In this it differs from any other commodity. Further the seller of labour power is mortal. So the upkeep of labour power includes its reproduction costs: the upkeep of the labourer's family including the education and training of the labourer's children necessary to maintain an adequate future supply of workers. The value of labour power, therefore, varies with the value of the means of subsistence of the labourer.

The labour process under capitalist conditions of production has two distinguishing features. The first is that the labourer works under the control of the capitalist. The second is that the product of the labour process is the property of the capitalist. The capitalist supplies the means of production and puts the labourer to work. The labourer adds new value to the means of production by expending upon them a given amount of additional labour. The values of the means of production used up in the process are preserved and are transferred to the product produced during the labour process. By the very act of adding new value, the labourer preserves the value of the means of production.

Surplus value arises from the fact that the value which labour power creates in the labour process is greater than the value of the means of subsistence necessary to maintain the labourer. It is the difference between the value of labour power, representing that part of the working day in which the labourer produces the equivalent of his/her means of subsistence and the value created during the whole working day. If the working day is eight hours long and it takes the equivalent of five hours to produce the worker's means of subsistence, the necessary labour time, then the surplus labour time would be three hours and it is this that is the source of surplus value, the source of capitalist profits. The ratio of surplus to necessary labour time is a measure of the exploitation of the working class.

Payment in the form of wages obscures the capitalist exploitation of the working class. In reality the labourer only receives payment for part of the working day, the paid labour time. The rest is unpaid. The wage form of the value of labour power actually hides this. The payment for labour power takes upon itself the false appearance of payment for labour. As Marx put it 'the wage form...extinguishes every trace of the division of the working day into necessary labour and surplus labour, into paid and unpaid labour. All labour appears as paid labour.'

David Reed

Alastair Logan defended Patrick Armstrong in the Guildford Four trial. He is now campaigning for the release of all the Guildford Four and a public inquiry into the frame-up. Alastair Logan is one of a small number of lawyers prepared to defend the rights of Irish people, prisoners and others whom the state thinks should have no rights. Terry O'Halloran talked to him about his experience in the Guildford Four case and subsequent Irish political trials.

Alastair described the atmosphere in Guildford police station when he first went to visit Patrick Armstrong. 'It was like Fort Knox. The atmosphere was absolutely taut. It was wholly different from anything I'd come across before. It was intimidating. And if it was intimidating for me, who had, effectively, nothing to fear, what must it have been

like for those inside? You could not be unaffected by the atmosphere.'

Then he met Patrick Armstrong, the man supposed to be an IRA volunteer and bomber: 'He was shaking like a leaf. He literally had tremors. It is only now, some 12 years later, that he can control that tremor.' Patrick Armstrong's tremors are an after effect of being in a flat in the Divis in Belfast 1969 when the RUC fired on the flats. 'This is the man that the IRA are supposed to choose to assist them in a bombing. A man who shakes whenever he's under pressure.'

The hysteria at the time was such that another man who was being deported under the PTA - for being a member of an Irish language society - was too frightened to allow Alastair to say anything on his behalf. 39 people were arrested in the Guildford/Woolwich swoops.

Alastair told how close a man called Anderson came to 'confessing' to the bombings: 'He'd got to the last interview - he didn't know it was the last interview - exhausted mentally and physically, so defenceless that he'd decided that if they wanted him to say he'd done it, he would say so.' Just at the moment when Anderson was going to break the interrogator was called out of the room. In that breathing space Anderson recovered his strength. When the officer returned and asked yet again if he had done the Guildford bombing, Anderson said no. It was the last time he was asked.

Apart from the ill-treatment the four suffered and testified to in court, Alas-

Guildford 4: defending Irish people on trial

tair Logan points out that neither Patrick Armstrong nor Carole Richardson were fit to be questioned. Both were withdrawing from drugs whilst being questioned. A GP who examined Carole Richardson managed to conclude both that she was fit to be questioned and that she was hysterical and hyper-ventilating. It was in such conditions that 'confessions' were extorted from the four.

When it came to the trial everything was done to ensure convictions. 'As a lawyer there was suddenly a them and us situation. The prosecution, all the DPP's men and police were not searched. They just walked in. Whereas everybody associated with the defence got a thorough rub down and frisk. We couldn't leave anything in the court in case the police read our instructions. It was intimidating.'

'The defence solicitors and solicitors' clerks were generally treated as being in cahoots with the defendants.' Police officers were repeatedly rude and surly towards the defence team. All this combined with the excessive security not only affected the defence team but must also have had an impact on the jury. 'The message to the jury was that this was a "high risk trial involving dangerous desperados with dangerous desperados on the outside who might interfere with the jury." I don't know of any "terrorist" case where a juror has been interfered with though it happens in some criminal cases.' The effect of all this on the jury was 'if there's any doubt the benefit of the doubt should go to the prosecution and not to the defence.'

After the Guildford Four case, Alastair Logan defended other Irish people

on 'terrorist' charges. He talked about the various ways in which the defence was disrupted in such cases. 'The evidence bundles would be assembled in a haphazard way that was not logical or sequential.' This meant that important connections between one piece of evidence and another would be obscured. Another tactic was 'dumping evidence on us at the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth minute. I have had statements served on me just before the close of the prosecution case.'

'If you had more than one client it was an unholy task to try and get a joint conference which meant you had to keep running from one client to another. Clients would be shifted from one prison to another.' On more than one occasion this happened immediately before an arranged legal visit.

For a while things got better but then came the John McComb trial (see 'The framing of John McComb' FRFB32). The police, one officer in particular, were determined to get a conviction 'come hell or high water' and were prepared to 'ride roughshod over every right John McComb had.' The trial ended with a story leaked to the *Daily Telegraph* accusing defence counsel of conspiring with John McComb to pervert the course of justice. When an 'inquiry' was finally held, the defence counsel was fully exonerated. But the damage had been done. 'It nearly destroyed that man's career' Alastair Logan said.

The 'offence' in the John McComb case had been that the defence had done their job so effectively that they had exposed lies being told by the police. The allegation against the defence counsel was the police's attempt at revenge.

Alastair Logan is quite clear that the Guildford Four case is not an isolated incident. 'For Irish people the standards of justice are not the same: corners are cut. Rules are bent. The standards are atrocious. The intellectual dishonesty of some of the judgements is stupendous.' These discriminatory standards apply both in cases involving actual IRA volunteers and in those, like the Guildford Four, in which completely innocent people are simply rounded up and framed.

Asked why he is prepared to defend Irish people on 'terrorist' charges, Alastair's answer is straightforward: 'I really do not believe that we should have a legal system which applies only to those who somebody thinks it should benefit. Once we start to discriminate - because you're Irish, or a "terrorist", or you support abortion, or you're a Jew - then the law becomes merely an instrument of power wielded by the powerful against the weak.'

Terry O'Halloran

Frame-up exposed

Yorkshire TV's 'First Tuesday' documentary The Guildford Timebomb, shown on 1 July, exposed the Guildford Four frame-up to millions of people and put tremendous pressure on the Home Office. Within 24 hours of the programme, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd ordered a review of the convictions.

The programme brilliantly dissected the 'evidence' used to convict the four in 1975. It showed how:

- the police, under pressure to secure convictions, concocted a web of lies to trap the four;
- the 'confessions' were false statements extracted by fear, lack of sleep and food, and denial of access to solicitors or family;
- the judge allowed these statements even though they contained 100 major contradictions, had been retracted by the four, and were uncorroborated;
- alibis for Paul Hill and Carole Richardson were set aside;
- the Appeal Court judges conspired to refuse a retrial despite the evidence of the Balcombe Street IRA active service unit which proved that the Guildford Four were innocent. The judges accepted the prosecution's preposterous theory that 13-16 IRA members had been involved, including no less than ten wandering round Guildford in two separate cars.

For legal reasons the programmes left out evidence that the four and witnesses had been beaten and had their lives threatened. Paul Hill was told that his pregnant girlfriend would be set up for a life sentence. However, a retired police superintendent and a leading forensic psychologist both said in the programme that the four should not have been convicted on the basis of their uncorroborated statements. They also said that the statements bore hallmarks of being made under unacceptable pressure.

The continuing imprisonment of the Guildford Four is evidence of a conspiracy involving the highest legal offices in the land. Then prosecution counsel, at the trial and appeal, Michael Havers is now 'Sir' Michael Havers, Attorney-General, the highest political office in the British legal system. Trial judge, John Donaldson, has risen to become Master of the Rolls, the top appeal judge. The Director of Public Prosecutions gave the orders to remove forensic evidence of links between the Guildford/Woolwich bombings and the IRA campaign of which they were part, from both the Guildford Four and the Balcombe Street trials. The Appeal Court sealed the cover-up by rejecting the application for appeal to avoid the risk of a new jury acquitting the four.

Such British 'justice' and police meth-



Paul Hill

ods are becoming increasingly notorious: from striking miners to black youth on Broadwater Farm estate, people are experiencing the combination of police brutality, forced confessions and the judgements of the ruling class judiciary. Such methods were refined on the Irish people, especially when Kenneth Newman was head of the RUC 1976-79. Under his regime, hundreds of confessions were extracted to secure convictions. Those methods were already at work in Guildford police station in 1974. As Paul Hill said, these methods are designed as 'a warning to the Irish community in this country not to get involved in any part of the war in Northern Ireland.'

The Home Office, at the head of the conspiracy to frame the Guildford Four, now faces a choice: to continue the cover-up despite the publicity or to free the four, thereby admitting that they have been wrongly imprisoned for 12 years. The task of the campaign is to maintain the pressure on the Home Office and mobilise the widest possible forces to fight for the release of the Guildford Four.

We must now raise our efforts for victory. A victory for the Guildford Four will be a significant blow against British rule in Ireland, against the Home Office, the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the conspiracy laws used to bolster that rule. A victory for the Guildford Four will signal to the Irish community in Britain and to the British working class that unity and organisation against the British state can bring victory against all the odds.

Sian Bond/Tony Sheridan

MRS CONLON

In November 1974 my son Gerard was arrested from our home...my husband went to London to secure legal representation for our son...Within several hours my husband was arrested along with my brother Paddy, his brother-in-law Sean Smyth, a friend of the family Pat O'Neill, my two young nephews and their mother Anne. My husband was later convicted and sentenced to 12 years and died whilst serving that sentence...

(Giuseppe Conlon, already an invalid, contracted pneumonia in prison)...His pneumonia was cleared only when he was transferred from Wormwood Scrubs to Hammersmith Hospital and he received little luxuries there like medical treatment, and, of course, a 24 hour police presence; who decided one cold and foggy night to take him from Hammersmith Hospital in a public taxi. All my husband had over him was a hospital linen sheet...Because of this my husband took a relapse and died...

To this day my son Gerard (30 years) is still vehemently protesting his innocence and his father's innocence...If there is anyone out there with any sense of decency who can help, please do so...

Mrs Conlon

Irish Solidarity Movement Smash the frame ups! Free the Guildford Four!

South London:
Monday 28 July at 7.30pm
Lambeth Town Hall, Acre Lane, SW2
(nearest tube: Brixton)

North London:
Thursday 31 July at 7.30pm
Red Rose Club, Seven Sisters Road,
N7 (nearest tube: Finsbury Park)

Speakers: Liz Hill, sister of framed Guildford prisoner, Irish Solidarity Movement and others invited.

Free The Guildford Four Campaign meetings alternate Wednesdays at Camden Irish Centre, Murray Street, off Camden Road. Next meeting 30 July. For information packs (50p waged/25p unwaged), and other information about the campaign contact: Free The Guildford Four Campaign, BM Box 6944, London, WC1N 3XX.



Alastair Logan speaking at the Guildford 4 Campaign meeting on 9 July from left to right: Pat Reynolds (IBRG), Frank O'Neill (TOM), Rosemary Sales (LCI), Phil Penn (WRP - Workers Press), Tony Sheridan (FTGFC), Maxine Williams (Chairperson - ISM), Liz Hill, John McDonnell (ex-deputy leader GLC), David Reed (ISM).

Guildford 4 campaign - successful meeting

Over 150 people packed into Holborn Library on 9 July to attend the first central London public meeting called by the Free the Guildford 4 Campaign. Chairing the meeting, Maxine Williams welcomed a platform of 10 speakers which showed the broad base of support for the campaign: Alastair Logan, solicitor; Liz Hill - Paul Hill's sister; Jeremy Corbyn - Labour MP; David Reed - Irish Solidarity Movement; Phil Penn - Workers Revolutionary Party; John McDonnell - ex-Deputy leader of the GLC; Pat Reynolds - IBRG; Frank O'Neill - Troops Out Movement; Rosemary Sales - Labour Committee on Ireland; Tony Sheridan of the Irish Solidarity Movement spoke as co-ordinator of the Free the Guildford 4 Campaign. This wide range of speakers were united on one central point: that the Guildford 4 were framed and must be freed and that a massive campaign is needed to achieve this.

Whilst recognising the boost given to the struggle by Yorkshire TV's First Tuesday documentary, Alastair Logan voiced a warning that even with the programme and the publicity the campaign was only at the beginning of the road given the serious opposition in legal, police and political circles to admitting that the four were framed. David Reed of the ISM pointed out that those who had orchestrated the frame-up had been elevated to high positions: Sir Michael Havers, now Attorney General, Lord Justice Donaldson, Master of the Rolls.

'Our failure to oppose and organise against the criminal conspiracy directed at Irish people has left us with the real conspirators at the head of the police and legal system in this country.'

In the same way Sir Kenneth Newman when Chief Constable of the RUC had presided over institutionalised torture and now is head of the London police:

'The history of the past 17 years has proved time and again that the brutal methods of British imperialist oppression are used first against the Irish people and then against the British working class.'

The audience rose in an ovation after Liz Hill spoke about Paul's treatment and also her own experiences of police harassment.

The extent of audience support was also shown by the £262 collection.

Tony Sheridan, for the campaign, emphasised the need for all supporters to go out and build the campaign:

'A victory for the campaign would not only be a victory for the Guildford 4 but would help to restore the confidence of the Irish community and all who support freedom for Ireland to get up and say so publicly.'

Labour - Orange supporters

The Orange marching season in Scotland was kicked off in Leith in Edinburgh by one of the most openly bigotted speeches to be publicly reported in Britain. The speech was by the Labour Convenor of Midlothian District Council, Sam Campbell.

Campbell's speech was greeted with cheers and roars from his audience of Orange thugs and bigots. He called for Protestants to withhold their TV licence fees until Roman Catholicism is 'cleaned off our screens', he urged the crowd to 'get rid of' 'mealy mouthed papists' like Terry Wogan and Eamon Andrews. He also called for the closing of all Roman Catholic schools, and for parents to take action against headmasters who were 'mealy mouthed, half boiled clowns' who were 'always running off to the RC school'. His speech was ended with wild applause which he responded to by leading the crowd in the sectarian football song 'o give me a home where there's no Pope of Rome...'

In the publicity over this outrageous speech, Campbell was forced to resign by his Labour colleagues in Midlothian: not for being an Orange bigot in a responsible position, but for going public on it. Campbell, presumably is not too worried about the temporary loss of office. The Orange Order in Scotland has plans for fielding sectarian Protestant candidates in local elections. Campbell will no doubt be one of those - confident that the Labour Party's consistent refusal to challenge the racist Orange supremacy in the Scottish working class will ensure him and his fascist friends the votes they seek. Maggie Mellon

The Stalker Scandal

Stifling the evidence

The announcement on 12 July by RUC Chief Constable Sir John Hermon, that two RUC officers have been suspended, was intended to stifle the growing scandal around the Stalker affair. The two suspended, superintendent George Anderson and superintendent George Flanagan, are amongst the RUC officers who John Stalker recommended for prosecution in connection with shoot-to-kill operations in the Six Counties.

Revelations about the Stalker affair have continued to come thick and fast. The highest levels of the British government and security services are being accused in the press of instigating the smears against Stalker in order to stop his too vigorous inquiries into RUC shoot-to-kill operations in the Six Counties. The *Irish Times* has reported that at meetings in the past year between the RUC and British government representatives, the RUC made clear that if Stalker's inquiries went on there would be dire consequences for the RUC, the Six Counties' legal system and the government Ministers who ordered the shoot-to-kill policy. Following these meetings the smears against Stalker began. *The Star*, on 19 July, claimed that MI5 were involved in the attack on Stalker in order to cover up their own involvement in covert cross-border operations.

Despite his now official suspension the charges against Stalker become more mysterious by the day. Up to 1000 people have been questioned and evidently 10 policemen are now working full-time studying all those who have ever attended the same events as him in the hope of turning up a 'criminal' and thus a post-hoc justification for his suspension.

Yet the most revealing aspect of the affair is none of these; it is the government's and top Establishment figures' smug belief that they can brazen out the scandal. They are confident that British public opinion will remain either ignorant or indifferent to the fact that murder and the dirtiest of tricks are every day matters when it comes to British rule in Ireland. The responsibility for this situation lies largely with the Labour Party. Kinnock and Co could have raised the Stalker affair as a central issue in the House of Commons and caused Thatcher's government serious difficulty. Instead they, like their Manchester counterparts, have allowed the smears and the cover-up to continue with barely a ripple of opposition. No wonder. For the Labour Party is as guilty as the Tories of using murder, torture and dirty tricks against the Irish people. It has every interest in covering up the reality of British rule in Ireland.

It has become clear that Stalker's investigation not only uncovered high-level RUC conspiracy to murder but also MI5 involvement. In particular, he

had discovered that MI5 had bugged and taped events at the scene of the killing of Michael Tighe. Two copies of these tapes existed yet, it has now been revealed both have been destroyed. The tapes would have established just what happened when the 17 year old youth was shot dead and his companion wounded. RUC Chief Constable Sir John Hermon fought a pitched battle to prevent Stalker getting them. Stalker, already highly unpopular with the RUC, (he was ominously nicknamed the Manchester Martyr and his wife says he feared for his life) then upped the stakes. He announced that he was returning to the Six Counties on 2 June and would either get co-operation or would resign from the inquiry and say why. His plans included interviewing senior RUC officers, including Hermon, about the tapes. Events moved fast during May. On 9 May Stalker's friend, Manchester businessman Kevin Taylor was raided and photos of them at a party were used on 29 May as the pretext for forcing Stalker to take leave and removing him from the shoot-to-kill inquiry. Just who ordered the raid on Taylor and on what grounds are questions that remain unanswered.

Also unanswered is the question - which senior RUC officers ordered the tapes to be destroyed? Other events too, point to a high level smear campaign and conspiracy.

- Sources 'close to Stalker' have reported that senior government officials put pressure on him to draw back in his inquiry from reporting damaging (ie true) material about the RUC. When this failed the smears began.
- On 19 May Manchester Chief Constable James Anderton and regional inspector Sir Philip Myers travelled to Scarborough to meet Sir Laurence Byford, Chief Inspector of Constabulary. They sought and got his approval for removing Stalker from the Inquiry. It is now alleged that Sir Philip Myers is a close friend of RUC Chief Constable Hermon.
- The fact that Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, is in charge of both the investigation into Stalker and of continuing the shoot-to-kill inquiry reeks of a cover-up. The press reports that his inquiries about Stalker may be prolonged into the Parliamentary recess so that potentially embarrassing questions cannot be asked.
- When Manchester's (Labour-controlled) Police Authority voted to suspend Stalker on 30 June, its Chairman, Norman Briggs claimed that Stalker had all along been informed of the allegations against him. Stalker vehemently denies this. Vague rumours about his 'undesirable' associates are the only accusations against him and indeed on this basis almost all senior policemen would be removed from office.

The architects of the Stalker cover-up have gambled that the short-term embarrassment of the affair would be less risky than allowing the RUC's murderous practices and the Government's approval of them to be exposed. In this enterprise they have relied on a tame Labour Opposition and public apathy about events in Ireland. So far (even with a couple of possible RUC scapegoats thrown in) it looks as though their gamble is paying off.

Maxine Williams

Reactionaries win on divorce

The overwhelming 'no' vote in the Twenty Six Counties referendum on divorce is a serious blow for the Irish working class, particularly for women. 63.5% of the voters said no to divorce, a result which will mean continuing misery for tens of thousands of Irish people. Women will remain locked in marriages to husbands who beat them and their children; deserted wives who wish to remarry will be unable to do so; the children of couples unable to divorce their previous spouses will be deemed 'illegitimate'. The separation of Church and state and the right to divorce are the most elementary of democratic issues. That such a right should be denied shows the reactionary role of both the Irish ruling class and the Church hierarchy.

Geldof's fee

Bob Geldof has at last come home - home to the Imperialist hearth that is. Sir Bob ('I am delighted and deeply honoured') has become Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. And his entrance fee was promptly paid when in a speech in the USA he said:

'One thing I must stress to Irish Americans is not to support the IRA.'

He called the IRA: 'Some of the biggest murderers on this planet'. This from one who has seen first hand the disease, famine and death suffered by millions in Africa and knows full well that the culprits sit in the boardrooms and Parliaments of the USA and Britain. And it is the same rapacious forces which continue to oppress the Irish people today. Yet those who are fighting back against oppression are 'the biggest murderers'. If the starving had the strength to fight back, he would doubtless condemn them too!

Geldof's 'achievement' was to make the overfed middle classes of the imperialist countries glow with self satisfaction as they 'bopped' for Africa, ran for Africa or most grotesquely 'ate' for Africa. He is their representative and their poodle. A tame and talentless pop singer with a top hat and a reactionary speech in his pocket. Cathal McGrath

Garret FitzGerald and his Fine Gael Party did not call the referendum for progressive reasons. Far from it. FitzGerald hoped to boost his flagging political fortunes and, for the purposes of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, to demonstrate that the Twenty Six Counties state was secular. He has failed spectacularly on both counts.

Nor is this failure surprising. FitzGerald's campaign was positively low key and certainly did not compete with the anti-divorce lobby's weekly predictions of sin and peril which poured from the pulpits. Once again, as in the abortion referendum of 1983, the Catholic hierarchy played a predominant role in ensuring a victory for reaction.

The anti-divorce lobby argued that divorce would destroy family life and that the first wife and children would lose property rights. Hardly relevant arguments for Dublin's slum dwellers for whom unemployment, poverty and overcrowding make family life a very grim affair and the issue of 'property rights' a grotesque insult. For them life is an increasing struggle for survival and particularly for working class women, the denial of social rights yet another burden.

Christine Russell

continued from page 1

'Protestant Action Force' issued a revolting statement saying that if loyalists were 'unable to parade on traditional routes then the Protestant Action Force will stop Catholics and Republicans from working and living in loyalist areas'. On 14 July in Belfast Colm McCallan was shot three times in the head by the UVF. The murder gang had chased several other men but they had managed to escape. In Belfast on 19 July, a taxi-driver was shot dead by the Protestant Action Force. Martin Duffy is the eighth nationalist to be murdered this year by sectarian killers.

Elsewhere in the Six Counties attacks on homes and churches and beatings were commonplace. A no-warning car bomb exploded outside a Catholic-owned restaurant in Co Down. The most concerted attack came in Rasharkin in North Antrim where 50 hooded loyalists, armed with cudgels and hatchets, viciously attacked a row of Catholic homes on Sunday 13 July. The mob split up into smaller groups and two or three men systematically smashed up each house whilst the terrified occupants tried to hide or escape. A sixteen year old youth was beaten up. Every window in many of the houses was smashed, parked cars were wrecked, furniture broken.

Such attacks and threats of violence are now clearly seen to have won a victory in Portadown. The Unionist campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement has always relied ultimately on the threat of violence. The loyalists have been getting armed to the teeth. Hence the recent arrests of four people including two serving soldiers in connection with supplying anti-tank missiles to loyalist groups. In relation to violence Unionist leaders like Ian Paisley have made their attitude plain. Calling on Protestants to prepare he has said:

'This is war. Let nobody mince words about it. It is no garden party or picnic'.

And:

'Power comes either from the ballot box or the barrel of a gun.'

Of course such speeches are ritually condemned by British government spokesmen - who then go on to call on Paisley and co to 'negotiate'. How different is their attitude to violence on the part of the oppressed, the nationalist people and the Republican Movement. The difference being simply that the British government recognises that the loyalists are on the side of British imperialism.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement has not changed the reality of loyalist supremacy in the Six Counties one iota. The 12 July events again confirm this point. In fact, the Agreement has strengthened partition. In late June a major joint British Army/Twenty Six

Counties police force exercise took place to build additional Army observation posts in South Armagh. But while repression continues where are the Agreement's reforms? So far the only concrete advance that even the most slavish supporters of the Agreement can point to is an extra £76,000 allocated to the Fair Employment Agency. On the one hand armed sectarian loyalist attacks are allowed whilst on the other £76,000 is given to a toothless agency, allegedly to fight discrimination. Could there be a better illustration of the fallacy of reform in the Six Counties?

Maxine Williams

Old Bailey trial ends with savage sentences

The Old Bailey show trial of the Irish men and women accused of planning the so-called seaside bombing campaign ended with vicious sentences being imposed. Patrick Magee was given 8 life sentences with a recommendation that he serve a minimum of 35 years; Ella O'Dwyer, Martina Anderson, Gerry McDonnell and Peter Sherry were all given life sentences, with the judge, 'Justice' Boreham regretting, that due to the charges against them, he was not allowed to recommend a minimum period for their incarceration.

As usual with Irish trials, evidence was less important than prejudice and police 'horror' stories. Another 5 Irish people have been incarcerated. Their treatment before and during the trial indicates what they now face: Martina and Ella suffered 500 strip searches and 2,500 body searches. Peter Sherry was dragged from the dock and beaten up when he tried to speak at the end of his trial.

FRFI sends greetings and solidarity to Ella, Martina, Patrick, Gerry and Peter. Readers should send cards/letters of solidarity to:

Patrick Magee (B75881), HM Prison Leicester, Welford Road, Leicester LE2 7AJ.

Peter Sherry (B75880) and Gerry McDonnell (B75882), HM Prison, Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight PO30 5NX.

Ella O'Dwyer (D25135) and Martina Anderson (D25134), HM Prison Brixton, PO Box 369, Jebb Avenue, London SW2 5XF.

Lucy Francis



Heroes

Heroes, John Pilger, Jonathan Cape, 1986, 591pp, £12.95

John Pilger's *Heroes* are the poor and oppressed of the world: of Australia where he grew up; of Britain where he has worked as a journalist for most of his career; of America where he reported on the Kennedy campaign, the effects of the Vietnam war, opposition to Ku Klux Klan and state racism, and the poor and oppressed peoples of the world fighting for national liberation.

His book reflects the honesty of his journalism. His accounts of the suffering of the poor, the low waged and oppressed in Britain are far removed from the gutter journalism of the tabloid horror sheets. He is

genuinely despairing of the growing reaction: the officially encouraged racist attacks and murders in London, the state repression and brutality against the mining communities—but he is also genuinely optimistic about the signs of a resistance and a possible future; the support which the miners got from the hidden, 'ignored' minorities of black people, unemployed, children and youth, workers and communities; a demonstration of black and white schoolgirls which succeeded in surrounding and dispersing an NF gang which had been terrorising the black children of the school: 'We are black, we are white—together we are dynamite!'

In Vietnam, he witnessed the very unheroic American war against a

people who would not lie down, and paid for their resistance with millions of deaths and injuries; and who are still paying with the Agent Orange legacy of still births and deformities and handicaps in newborn children whose parents were themselves children during the war.

His heroes are the people—but not the peoples' organisations. Somehow, for him, the National Liberation Front (NLF) of Vietnam, and the Republican Movement of Ireland are distanced from the people with not necessarily the same interests as those of the poor and dispossessed. For a journalist, roving the world with no ties to any of the struggles he covers, he inevitably loses the understanding of the processes which bring ordinary people to form revolutionary organisations—which are at one and the same time 'only' the people, and more than the people. It is a journalism and a view of individuals even of peoples but not of the struggles of those individuals

and peoples organised together. Thus there is suffering in Ireland—but Bobby Sands and other freedom fighters are not defined as the people, but as part of the problem. Similarly, the NLF of Vietnam although not on the wrong side are somehow not the people's solution, but a separate organisation.

Thus, when he travels to and reports on the socialist countries and the peoples' republics, he does not see the governments and social organisation as being the results of organisation and struggle. To Pilger repression is repression, government is government—an impartial view which somehow doesn't account for which class is repressing, and what class is governing. This said, there is a role for the honest humane and non-partisan eye—and that is what John Pilger's journalism represents. The book is formidably expensive but will hopefully be published in paperback soon, and is challenging and worthwhile reading.

Maggie Mellon

Westland saga

Not With Honour: The Inside Story of the Westland Scandal, Magnus Linklater and David Leigh, Sphere Books, 1986, 218pp, £3.95

Lenin once observed that 'when capitalists work for defence, ie for the state, it is obviously no longer "pure" capitalism but a special form of national economy... the capitalist "working" for defence does not "work" for the market at all—he works on government orders, very often with money loaned by the state.'

During the first five years of Thatcher's government, defence spending rose by 30 per cent in real terms. The Ministry of Defence, which runs a Procurement Executive department of 43,000 staff, accounts for about half of the output of the British aerospace industry. At any one time 10,000 British firms are working on defence contracts. This book, researched by two *Observer* journalists, is as much an object lesson in how rival capitalists compete for those contracts, as an analysis of the forces behind the Westland dispute.

Between 1975 and 1980 225 top British army officers became directors, managers and advisers to various British firms, many in the weapons trade. For example, former Chief of Staff of British Land Forces, General John Strawson, took over as adviser to Westland in 1976. The chairman of Westland, Sir John Cuckney, was formerly an MI5 agent. *Not with Honour* reveals the rival teams (centred on Heseltine and a section of British manufacture seeking an alliance with the European defence industry, against Cuckney and the City in alliance with the US transnational Sikorsky of United Technologies) pulling every string, every contact, every general, admiral and departmental under-secretary to reach into the relevant government departments and the Cabinet to win for themselves vital government backing and money.

It has its comic moments: Admiral Lygo of British Aerospace locked in battle with Admiral Treacher of Westland, the former damning US helicopters, the latter slandering European machines while the British

helicopter sinks slowly beneath them; Heseltine's change of six ties in a day; Thatcher's adviser from Emergency Ward 10 and the Eamonn Andrews show. However, the book discloses the existence of a British military-industrial complex wherein senior military figures are rotated through corporate and government department positions, to establish the military at the heart of British capital and the state.

The outcome of the Westland dispute had nothing to do with 'free market forces' or the 'shareholders' decision', as Thatcher's loyal ministers kept parroting. It was sealed by Thatcher in her response to Cuckney's complaints about her devious Defence Secretary, 'We'll take care of Heseltine'. Thatcher's close friend and adviser, Sir Gordon Reece, was recruited by Westland to serve as its adviser. By this route Cuckney and Sikorsky had direct access to the Prime Minister. The City, Thatcher's 'Fan Club', did the rest by means of behind the scenes whispers and secret share dealings.

One of the most revealing aspects of this book, not included in its pages, is why it was written at all. Lonhro and its paper, *The Observer*, have accused Thatcher, her son Mark and Sir Gordon Reece of foiling their bid for the House of Fraser and Harrods last year. Lonhro also faces the major threat to its monopoly interests in Africa from US transnationals with whom Thatcher and the City are busily cementing a partnership. Linklater and Leigh will have received a pat on the back from their employer, Tiny Rowland, for further smearing the foul image of Thatcher and her cronies, exposing their deceitful manoeuvring and habitual lying, but they have not analysed the real character of the division opened up in the ruling class and its relation to the crisis of capitalism. For this you should turn back to the February issue of *FRFI* which, at 30 pence, is a substantially better buy.

Trevor Rayne

Rozina Visram's book charts the development of the Asian community in Britain during the period before Indian Independence. Its origins are to be found in the story of ayahs and lascars.

The practice of bringing servants home to Britain began in the time of the East India Company (1600-1858). Many returning British families, having enjoyed the benefits of cheap and plentiful labour in India, engaged servants and ayahs (ie, nannies or ladies' maids) to serve on the long sea voyage back. They were brought at the convenience of their masters or mistresses and no provision made for a return passage. Once in Britain the duties of the ayahs ceased, and they were dismissed to await return engagements. Many lived temporarily in squalid lodging houses, paying exorbitant rents and often in extremely crowded conditions—in one instance it was found that 'between 50 and 60 ayahs' were lodged in such a place.

Lascars were the men employed on the ships removing wealth the British plundered from India. They were frequently and viciously mistreated on board ship. In one case the entire crew of Muslim lascars deserted when their ship docked in the Thames. Their grievances, corroborated by European crewmen, were that they 'had been hung up with weights tied to their feet, flogged with a rope'; forced to eat pork; 'and the insult carried further by violently ramming the tail of the pig into their mouths and twisting the entrails of the pig around their necks'. Others were cast adrift in Europe, or arrived in England close to death.

As with the ayahs, the lascars were invariably abandoned on arrival in Britain and left to fend for themselves. Destitute, and without adequate clothing for Britain's winter, their death rate was high. Some estimates were that before 1810, 130 lascars died yearly in Britain—according to the lascars themselves it was at least double that figure.

Ayahs, Lascars and Princes

Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain 1700-1947, Rozina Visram, Pluto Press, 304pp, £8.95

The living conditions of the lascars were abominable. A Society for the Protection of Asiatic Seamen was established in 1814. Inspecting the barracks where the lascars lived, it found 'the buildings... were like warehouses, very dirty... the floor consisting of earth... There were two or three large cupboards the size of sentry boxes'. When these were ordered to be opened 'out came a living lascar... put into confinement for quarrelling and bad behaviour'.



Suggestions that temporary employment should be provided for lascars for the first few weeks after their arrival were met with arguments such as 'there being in the metropolis a far greater number of English and Irish labourers than find constant employment, consequently

the employing of these men would be to the prejudice of our native population'. Missionaries considered the Hindu 'obsequious, deceitful, licentious and avaricious... destitute of all that is good and distinguished by almost all that is evil'.

Such were the realities confronting the first Indian communities in this country. By the mid-1800s the Indian population in Britain included teachers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen and musicians, many of whom also found their advancement held back by the colour bar. Even the Indian princes, the objects of much curiosity and notoriety, were not immune from British chauvinism: Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, referred to them as 'unruly and ignorant, and rather undisciplined schoolboys'.

However, Indians rapidly organised to challenge their oppression. The critical fault of this book is that it recounts in great detail the constitutional and Parliamentary efforts of middle-class Indians, and downplays the far more significant development of the Indian revolutionary nationalist and workers movement in Britain. Dadabhai Naoroji became the first black MP to sit in the House of Commons. Towards the end of his parliamentary career, he became more involved in the movement for Indian independence. With all the odds stacked firmly on the side of British imperialism—even his own Liberal Party could not give him whole-hearted support—Naoroji's election success in 1892 was all the more remarkable.

In contrast to the liberal Naoroji,

Democratic Dreaming

Democratic Policing, David Downes and Tony Ward, Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice, 1986, 70pp, £3.00

Democratic Policing is the latest in a spate of leftwing offerings on the police. Although it avoids the worst excesses of previous efforts at 'socialist policing policy' it shares the same basic fault: the attempt to construct a socialist policing policy without first achieving a socialist society.

The very idea of class society has largely vanished from view in these analyses. Downes and Ward, for example, talk about 'over-control' of the poor and 'under-control' of the rich when it comes to crime prevention. Their explanation of this process borders on the daft. The 'under-control' of the rich—financial institutions, business crime, fraud etc—'stems very largely from the way in which regulatory agencies other than the police are involved in their control' (p16). Presumably, according to this view, if the police were more involved then the crimes of the rich would be punished.

Downes and Ward ignore the fact that this society is capitalist and its laws, police, 'regulatory agencies' etc are geared to preserving this society and providing the best possible conditions for profit-making. The 'under control' of the crimes of the rich—crimes which include mass poisoning by pollution, mass starvation in the oppressed nations, war and counter-revolution etc—and the 'over-control' of the

crimes of the poor are necessary features of capitalist society.

Ignoring this, Downes and Ward then go through the familiar litany of police accountability (examined in excruciatingly boring detail), 'community policing', radical policies to eliminate poverty, alienation and so on. There is some useful material here and the authors do recognise, for example, that Newman's 'community policing' is actually community spying. But as long as Labour Party left commentators on the police refuse to address themselves to the reality of a divided class society in which the police function to control the working class and protect the ruling class, then so long will they, at best, be confined to pleasant dreams about a democratically controlled non-racist, non-sexist police force serving the people.

The problem with such dreaming is that it distracts attention from the real task of organising the political defence of the working class and oppressed against the police. But to draw attention to this task would require the Labour left publicly to organise against not only the police but also the 'law and order' Kinnock/Kaufman leadership of the Labour Party. It is this political reality that Downes and Ward, in common with the rest of the Labour Party left, seek to avoid.

Terry O'Halloran

Shapurji Saklatvala became the first, and only, Asian MP to sit as a Communist. An ardent anti-imperialist, he helped to establish the People's Russian Information Bureau to counter anti-Soviet propaganda following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and was a founder member of the Communist Party of

Great Britain. Eventually Saklatvala lost his seat when his opponents used both his communist politics and his colour against him.

Despite the narrow scope of this book it is worth reading. But borrow it from the library instead of buying it.

Virman Man

COMING IN NEXT ISSUE SPECIAL REVIEW FOR FRFI

Dr Maire O'Shea will be reviewing a new book by Chris Mullin 'Error of Judgement' published by Chatto and Windus at £10.95. The book exposes the frame-up of the Birmingham 6 who were arrested, brutally beaten and framed in court for the 1974 Birmingham Pub Bombings. Maire O'Shea is well qualified to comment on British frame-ups against Irish people herself being arrested and detained under the PTA and then charged with conspiracy. She did however fight a successful defence campaign and in court was acquitted.

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FRFI FUND DRIVE

The June Fund Drive raised £620 nearly making up for the May shortfall and £120 above the £500 we need every month to subsidise the unwaged rate of FRFI.

The Fund was helped greatly by an anonymous donation of £100 from Leeds and £53 from various readers throughout the country. Our FRFI Supporter Groups raised the remainder: in North and South London £151 and £152 respectively, in Manchester £50, Leeds £43, Glasgow £12, Edinburgh £27, Dundee £12, Liverpool £20.

Many thanks to all who contributed—by helping our supporter groups or donating individually. Please help us ensure that the Fund does not 'dry up' during the summer months.

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Ireland: the key to the British revolution by David Reed

450pp £3.95 plus 65p p&p

The recent TV documentary *The Guildford Timebomb* cast a sharp light on the frame-up of the Guildford 4 (see page 12). There has also recently been much publicity about the case of the Birmingham 6 framed and sentenced to life following the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974. This book is essential reading for anyone following these developments. As well as a detailed history of the Irish liberation struggle, it puts the show-trials, frame-ups and brutal treatment of Irish prisoners in Britain in its overall political context.

MINERS STRIKE

1984-5
People versus State
David Reed and Olivia Adamson
144pp, paperback
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Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group
175pp, £1.50 plus 50p p&p

ISM expelled

Comrades of the Irish Solidarity Movement,
The Agenda for the Irish Prisoners Appeal meeting on Tuesday the 8 July included membership. It was decided by all those present that the ISM delegation has not complied with the collective decisions of the IPA, and as a result have excluded themselves from the Irish Prisoners Appeal.
Yours in solidarity
Irish Prisoners Appeal

Reply from Irish Solidarity Movement to the IPA

Dear Comrades,
We were surprised and disappointed to read your unsigned letter of 14 July 1986. It is unacceptable that you should choose to discuss any problems which you have with our involvement at a meeting which we could not attend and without even informing us that such a discussion was going to take place. Your letter gives no explanation for this undemocratic decision to expel the ISM but you write that the ISM has 'excluded itself' by failure to carry out collective decisions of the IPA. What collective decisions?

How have we and our work acted against the interests of the campaign against strip searches or the struggle of the Irish prisoners? The ISM has all along supported the IPA's campaign against strip searching. At the same time we conducted our own independent work on the issue. As you know we held a successful demonstration in April which was widely supported and received messages of support from Irish prisoners in H Blocks, Albany and Brixton prisons.

The IPA itself spoke at this demonstration. We also held public meetings, street meetings and produced a petition and a dossier on the issue of strip searching of Ella and Martina, which we handed over to the IPA.

After the arrests, the ISM worked to build the widest possible support for the pickets, including: the mobilisation of well known individuals such as Linda Bellos; the production of a special ISM Newsletter and distribution of this and IPA leaflets; getting questions raised in the House of Commons about the arrests; mobilising our supporters—9 of the arrests were of ISM members.

Our interests lie with promoting the cause of Irish prisoners and the ISM has always campaigned for the

rights of Irish prisoners here, mounting prison pickets and demonstrations. We would rather carry out this work in co-operation with others so that the maximum unity and strength can be built rather than have lots of groups working in isolation and often against one another as has been the most common form of 'solidarity work' in Britain.

We have found the IPA to have been no exception to this sectarian tradition. It has repeatedly been made clear that the ISM was unwelcome at the IPA meetings. Indeed at one of the earliest meetings we attended, our delegates were summarily ejected from the meeting so that a discussion could take place about our affiliation in our enforced absence. (You seem fond of making such decisions in our absence.) We were attacked for producing our own leaflets and propaganda against the strip searches as though the IPA had a franchise on this subject. We were repeatedly forbidden to hand out our leaflets as were FRFI members to sell FRFI on IPA events. Yet the IPA produced joint leaflets with TOM women. Again only one delegate from the ISM was allowed at IPA meetings whereas TOM (and other undeclared organisations) regularly had more than one member at meetings.

We tolerated your rude, arrogant and uncomradely behaviour only in the interests of unity on this issue.

We believe your real objection to the ISM is political. You do not want revolutionary anti-imperialists in this country participating in such campaigns. You will use and have used any undemocratic methods to exclude us. The structure of the IPA is undemocratic. No votes are taken and it is not clear either how to join the IPA or how decisions get made. It cannot be an accident that the ISM, who most forcibly argued for Old Bailey pickets to continue in the face of arrests is now expelled. Nor is it a coincidence that our expulsion should coincide with a decision to call off a demonstration outside the first court case arising from the pickets.

We reiterate our position that, unlike you, we will work with any organisation, individual or political trend in order to advance the interests of the Irish people.

We are making this reply public in order to put our case and to make it known that we are prepared to stand by our record of work in the IPA and on the issue of Irish prisoners here in Britain. Since you have denied us the democratic right to speak in the campaign which we were working in with you, this is, unfortunately, our only option.
Fraternally
Lucy Francis and Maxine Williams

Thanks and solidarity

Dear Comrades
I write to thank all those kind comrades who signed the very well received solidarity card—very, very nice—I shall keep it always. So there we are a lovely surprise from you all and a warm gesture not lost—thank you each and all.

Ella and Tine are in fine form. Tine is singing now to us out of the

Anti-Fascist Action

On Saturday 5 July local people and Anti-Fascist Action activists joined forces to protest against Griffin and 50 of his fascist National Front scum marching through Bury St Edmunds to mark 'British Independence Day'. This followed much intimidation of local CND and left wing activists. We prevented the fascists from holding their rally and the police marched them back to the station as fast as they could. As 250 of us followed the thugs along the road we managed to tear up one of their banners despite their protection by the fascists in blue. Fearful that we might harm the local fascists who were boozing in

window, so I must not tarry as the saying goes, or I'll be noticed not at the window. I'm like a Jack in the box, up and down to clap or 'sing' or whatever.

Thanks for all the help and for all the efforts on the streets at meetings—for all the thoughts of solidarity—and worrying etc—there's only one real way to gain ground—by organisation and example—ah yes and perseverance.
Yours in solidarity
Geroid Mac Donnhail
HMP Brixton

the pubs after the event, the police escorted us out of town. Mysteriously, right under the eyes of our police escorts, a fascist got struck as our cordon passed. Fascists beware, your days are numbered—in or out of uniform.

Predictably, nine anti-fascists were arrested and—by mistake?—one fascist. AFA has set up a national defence campaign and anyone arrested on its activities will be properly defended.

FRFI is affiliated to Anti-Fascist Action and we recommend all who are interested in opposing the fascists to contact: AFA, PO Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7. Tel: 01-555 8151
Uta Meyer

Racism in Scotland

Dear FRFI

In recent weeks there has been much press publicity about an increase in racism in Scotland. For black people in Scotland this racism is not new but has been going on for years.

We moved to Edinburgh in 1982 thinking there would be no racism here. Since the start of 1983 when we moved into a council estate in Leith we've consistently suffered racial harassment. Firstly, our house windows were getting smashed on both sides of the house on a regular basis. Our car and van windows were regularly smashed and paint poured over them. Following that a piece of wood wrapped in paper and doused in petrol was shoved through the letterbox while we were asleep. Neighbours continually shouted racist abuse and set their dogs upon younger members of our family. On many occasions we were harassed by a gang of white youths as young as eight who threatened us in our house and on one occasion when my mother and wife were going up the stairs to our flat they were chased by the same group of youths brandishing a knife and threatening to kill them. They managed to reach the caretaker's flat just in time but this did not stop the racist bastards who started to jab the knife into the door, terrifying my mother and wife. If they had succeeded it may have resulted in very serious injury or death. We reported this to the police and named each of these racist thugs but no action was taken despite this clear evidence from my mother, wife and the caretaker. After contacting the Community Relations Council a police sergeant visited our flat and spent five minutes listening and then left. We've never seen or heard of him since.

On every occasion an attack occurred we reported this to the police and on occasions witnesses were present. No action was taken on either of these attacks and others too numerous to mention. This proved beyond all reasonable doubt that the police are very racist.
Mohammed I
(Edinburgh)

Fighting the nuclear threat in Germany

Dear Comrades,
Being an enthusiastic reader of your paper I have to correct a little thing in Olivia Adamson's article *The price of nuclear power* (issue No 60).

The new nuclear power station near Hamburg isn't Kalkar—it's Brokdorf. Kalkar was an important place in the history of the West German anti nuclear movement.

But the big demonstrations after the Chernobyl accident happened in Brokdorf and Wackersdorf. On 7 June, 50,000 people protested against the nuclear mafia in Wackersdorf, although every demonstration in the area was banned. In the north another 60,000 people tried to gather in Brokdorf. But thousands of them were stopped by the civil war army of the West German police state. The ruling class tries to destroy the awakening militancy of the new anti nuclear power movement.

In Hamburg the police interned over 500 demonstrators near the Brokdorf nuclear power station on an open road, and didn't release some of them until 15 hours later.

Downreay, Sellafield or Brokdorf—the international nuclear mafia must be beaten by international fightback. FRFI is an important instrument in this fight. The RCG knows that you can't discuss a halt to the nuclear program without discussing capitalism—a truth which is rejected by most green party members in West Germany.

Yours fraternally
Rüdiger
Freiburg

LETTERS

FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX

Support for Militant

Dear FRFI

I went, on 17 June to one of your group's meetings. The talks were all very good especially the main one by Viraj Mendis on his impending deportation. I thoroughly agreed with all the points he made on the view to a total abolition of immigration controls. I am not a member of your organisation but I am a Marxian and I subscribe to Militant so imagine my disappointment and even annoyance when I turned to the letters page and discovered an all-out attack on Militant.

It is right that socialists in one sector of the leftist movement should disagree and debate with one another on policy matters. This is essential in a workers' democracy. What is not helpful, essential or needed is to call a sincere Marxist tendency 'a left cover for a rotten pro-imperialist Labour Party.' While agreeing wholeheartedly that the Labour Party is imperialist the whole point of Militant is to try to change the policies of the Labour Party into a real base for a truly socialist government.

Militant is in no way covering up for the right wing of the party. In point of fact, as you will know the right and soft left are at present having a purge of ideals in the party. If Militant is their 'left cover' then why are they trying to blow this cover.

A paper like yours should back Militant to the hilt in their fight against being kicked out of an organisation which is supposed to represent the working class. Instead your paper (if that letter is representative of your readership's view) backstabs another socialist paper and I urge you to reconsider your position and support any and all genuine movements which would seek to put an end to capitalism and the designer socialism put up by the Labour Party in recent weeks.

Yours for a truly socialist government.
Jon
(Paisley)

Reply to Jon

We certainly do oppose Kinnock's witch-hunt against Militant supporters in the Labour Party. We also of course support all movements seeking to put an end to capitalism. We do not however support Militant's political standpoint which in reality is reactionary and weakens the chances of building a movement to end capitalism and imperialism.

Militant is violently hostile to national liberation movements and never misses the opportunity to attack the ANC in South Africa or the Republican Movement as 'terrorists'. When black and white youth rose up against police repression in Tottenham last year, Militant denounced them for engaging in 'blind, destructive, aimless violence'. Militant whilst demanding democratic rights for itself in the Labour Party, opposes the same rights being extended to black people wanting to organise Black Sections.

Such politics rather than uniting, divides and weakens the working class and oppressed in Britain and internationally. By calling itself Marxist and spreading the illusion that the Labour Party can become a real socialist organisation, Militant is indeed a 'left cover' for that racist, right wing organisation. Kinnock is moving daily further and further to the right. Yet Militant obstinately continues to tell people to join the Labour Party to change it into a socialist organisation. Is this not acting as a left cover?

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'We are here till Mandela is free'

7" single by FRFI supporter Ken Hughes, recorded live on the Non Stop Picket of the South African embassy

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Publications Fund Drive
THANKS to readers and supporters

We wish to thank all our readers and supporters who helped us complete our £3000 fund drive. We started this fund in order to reproduce as pamphlets the most important political articles appearing in past issues of FRFI.

We have already begun by reprinting our pamphlet on South Africa and will shortly be publishing another pamphlet on Kenneth Newman and the British police.

Despite having achieved our target we are still taking contributions this month. If you wish to make one, make your cheque or PO payable to Larkin Publications and send it to Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX.

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FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! VIRAJ MENDIS MUST STAY

Many Thanks

The VMDC wishes to thank those organisations who supported the march all the way to London. Organisations constantly represented on the march included the Revolutionary Communist Group, WRP (Workers Press), Anti-Fascist Action, Campaign Against Police Repression, the Socialist Federation, City AA and the Direct Action Movement. In addition to these groups local organisations of the SWP in Coventry, Workers Power, Coventry Labour Party, the International Communist Party/Young Socialists and many others lent a helping hand as the march passed through their towns.

Particular thanks must go to Red Star, the Asian youth organisation which did a tremendous job for us in Leicester and all the Asian communities, mosques and Sikh temples who helped in every way possible.

FETE WALSH



Continue the fight for Viraj

The VMDC march to London set off from Manchester on 5 July 2 weeks before the immigration appeal court turned down Viraj's last appeal to avoid deportation to Sri Lanka. The marchers, and the organisations and people supporting the campaign, know that Viraj's future is in our hands. Our aim is to bring home to ordinary people, black and white in the towns and cities along the route, the need to take a stand now against the heartless racism which threatens Viraj's life.

The send off from Manchester, where the VMDC has been campaigning for two years, was magnificent. 250 people turned out to march along with Viraj on the first stage of the route. Anwar Ditta, who fought for six years to bring her children to stay with her in Britain, spoke at the rally and marched to Stockport with Viraj. Other anti-deportation campaigns, Labour Party activists and councillors, church organisations and socialist groups came to speak and help in the send off. This unity in action with all those willing to stand with Viraj has been the hallmark of his campaign and the others inspired by it.

In Stoke, Macclesfield, Crewe, Coventry, Birmingham and Leicester local supporters organised accommodation, food, rallies and meetings for the march as it passed through. The march would not have been possible without the support of the Asian community. Sikh temples, Asian youth organisations, mosques and community centres have all welcomed and looked after the marchers on their way to London.

In Birmingham and Leicester, despite police harassment, local people and organisations came out to support the march. On Saturday, 12 July, over 80 came to a rally in Birmingham address-

ed again by Anwar Ditta, and by Nalگو Black Sections, Sinn Fein and Dr Maire O'Shea, and of course by FRFI and Viraj. Two days later in Leicester, this was followed by a 150 strong march organised by the Red Star, an Asian youth organisation. In both Birmingham and Leicester, the police tried to stop the march going through black areas - such is their fear of the support that the VMDC march could gain for Viraj's right to stay and for the fight against racist deportations.

Despite the boycott of the march by the national press, the local radio, TV

Picket the Home Office
Friday 25 July, 12-2pm
Home office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1
(nearest tube St James Park)

Final Demonstration and Mass Rally

Saturday 26 July,
Assemble 12 noon,
Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, London N1.
March to a Mass Rally
at 3pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1
(nearest tube Holborn)



and papers in most towns did carry news of the march.

The march took the call for Viraj's right to stay to ordinary people in the homes, shopping centres and meeting places in all the areas which it went through. That was its aim - achieve, despite persistent obstacles put in its way by the police.

We ask all those who support Viraj's right to stay to maintain contact with the VMDC to continue the struggle until Viraj wins his fight to stay here with his friends and comrades. He must not be deported to Sri Lanka to persecution.

Viraj Mendis Must Stay!
Deportation No Way!

JOIN THE RCG

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism - Join the RCG!

A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Central America. Help us do this - Join the RCG!

A movement must be built here in Britain which stands with the oppressed fighting racism, repression and poverty. Help us build this movement - Join the RCG!

A movement which challenges the racist and imperialist system must be built with the leadership of the RCG - Join the RCG!!

I wish to join/receive more information about the RCG

Name

Address

Tel.

Return to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

You can help!

If you want to help in the fight to win Viraj's right to stay contact the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Hulme, Manchester M15 5AL (phone 061 795 3870)

Police attack VMDC

From the moment the march began, the police have tried to disrupt, censor and disorganise it. Using every device they could, from petty harassment, trying to prohibit collections of money, stopping the marchers using a megaphone and denying them the right to pass through black areas, the police have, unsuccessfully, tried to prevent the march from getting its message across to black working class communities.

On the first day they held up the march by harassing the driver of our mini-bus. As we approached Crewe they directed us down the wrong road to prevent us meeting up with supporters in the town. Their ploy failed. On realising their harassment was failing to demoralise the marchers, the police decided to step it up. In Wolverhampton on 10 July, they insisted that the stewards sign a form not to use the megaphone. We here made a political mistake and signed. We quickly learned that by giving way the police, taking it as a sign of weakness, further escalated their harassment. When we arrived in Birmingham, we found that the police had decided they would not allow us to march through Lozells Road, scene of last year's rising by black and white youth. We were compelled to stop and have a street meeting and did, despite having signed a form, use our megaphone.



At this point all the marchers had a meeting to discuss the question of police harassment and our response to it. It was decided that we would fight any further attacks by the police and agreed that concessions to them only weakened the march and deny us our rights to get our message across.

So, on Sunday 13, on the way to Coventry, when the police tried to force us onto a bus we refused and continued our march into town. Our resolution to fight police restrictions was tested once again in Leicester the following day. The police set up a cordon to prevent us marching through the black areas of the town. The march, strengthened by nearly 100 youth mobilised by Red Star Asian youth organisation, pushed through the cordon and had a tremendous demonstration evoking widespread support from onlookers.

On our march, the police have behaved in the same way they do to all democratic movements and campaigns. We have learnt the lesson that to concede on our rights only emboldens these guardians of the wealthy to multiply their attacks. To stand up and fight leads to victories enabling us to get our message across.



Haringey Council put on an anti-racist festival on 20 July in Finsbury Park. This razzmatazz show cost £5 to get in. The only real teeth in this anti-racist display was the march of over 1000 from Broadwater Farm Estate to the park.

Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign and the local community had pressurised the Council to allow an hour and a half on the platform to express their anger at the police tactics and victimisation of the youth. In the event the Council watered this down to a pop festival and did not allow Ken Hughes to speak for the Defence Campaign as originally agreed. One small victory for black people in this country was that Viraj Mendis addressed the crowd about his threatened deportation and was well received.